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NOTES AND CRITICISMS ON UNSETTLED POINTS IN EARLY WESTERN HISTORY.

A SERIES OF PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY VARIOUS WRITERS, EDITED BY
OSCAR W. COLLET OF ST. LOUIS.

Ἄλωτα γίγνεται ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πόνος πάντα.

— [Menander.

Rien n'est beau que le vrai: le vrai seul est aimable.

— [Boileau.

NO. IV.

THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO SEPARATE THE WEST FROM THE AMERICAN UNION.

The source from which sprang the motive for the next attempt at the separating of the west from the Union was the disappointed ambition of one of the most astute and daring men in American political life. That which furnished opportunity and hope to Burr, or any other adventurer, was the vast stakes that would fall into the hands of the boldest schemer, in the largely unsettled but fertile regions of the west, the remains of prejudice yet existing against the older and more calculating communities in the east, and the lack of entire national and social homogeneity arising from distance and imperfect communication. All this caused the eyes of disappointed ambition to turn for more hopeful fields of exercise to the new and more excitable communities in the west

In the general election of 1801, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr were found to have received the same number of electoral votes for President and Vice-President.* No one receiving a majority of votes, the decision went to the house of representatives. It was evident that the Republicans had intended their votes for Mr. Jefferson for President and Colonel Burr for Vice-President. When, however, the Federalists despaired of electing their candidate, Mr. Adams, they, in considerable numbers, together with some Republicans, turned to Colonel Burr, and voted for him for President against Jefferson, and this with Burr's connivance. The contest was prolonged until within a few days of the time of the inauguration, when Mr. Jefferson was elected President and Colonel Burr Vice-President. His alleged plottings with the Federalists in this contest to seize the presidency were the occasion of the political feuds† in New York which resulted in the duel with Alexander Hamilton July 11, 1804. After Mr. Hamilton's death, Colonel Burr had to flee before the intense popular indignation, and was for a number of months in obscurity in the south. He returned to Washington in the winter of 1804-5, and took his place as the president of the senate. He was, however, himself aware that from the odium in which he was held his political fortunes were at an end. His term as Vice-President closed March 3, 1805, but he left Washington for Philadelphia before the close of the session, after making a speech of farewell which moved his bitterest opponents to tears.

General Wilkinson was in Washington at the time, having just been appointed governor of Louisiana,‡ with residence in St. Louis. He was an old friend of Burr. They had fought before Quebec together in 1775. He showed great interest in the fortunes of his former comrade. Wilkinson commended him to the delegates from Louisiana in Washington, and told them that so soon as Burr's vice-presidency was at an end he would go to Louisiana, where he had certain projects; adding that he was a man who would succeed in anything that he would undertake, and, throwing out mysterious hints, asked them to give him all the information in their power respecting that country.

He also expressed to Matthew Lyon, the eccentric member from Kentucky, originally from Vermont, and who subsequently came out to Missouri, his sorrow that a person of Burr's brilliant abilities was about to be lost to public life, and wondered what he could do. Wilkinson urged§ that

* Davis, Burr, I, 435.

† Blennerhassett Pap., p. 432.

‡ Hammond's Polit. Hist. N. Y., I., p. 131.

§ Wilk. Mem., I., p. 273.

a foreign mission be secured for him; but Lyon assured him that this would be impossible. Lyon, however, suggested that he might, if he took the right steps at once, be returned to Congress from Tennessee. To do this, however, he must instantly set out that spring, make a residence, and begin the practice of law in Nashville, and during the summer let his friends indicate that he would stand for Congress; and Mr. Lyon thought his abilities would, in the fall, secure him the position, and his killing of Hamilton would be found to have done him no injury. Burr took the matter up leisurely, allowed himself to loiter over a project for the cutting of a canal at the Falls of the Ohio, started for the west, went down the river, stopped at Blennerhassett's island, not however meeting the owner, as he was not at home, and so went on to Louisville. From thence he set out overland for Nashville, stopping on the way at Lexington, which was the centre of a brilliant social life and of political influence in Kentucky.

Mr. Lyon assured him at the time that, on account of his delays, his chance for being elected to Congress from Tennessee was destroyed, and stated afterward on Burr's trial that there seemed much mystery in his conduct, and he suspected projects which he could not penetrate. Burr's arrival and stay in Nashville were an ovation. He then came down the Cumberland river to Fort Massac, sixteen miles below its mouth on the Ohio. Here in June he met Wilkinson, who had come down from St. Louis expressly for the purpose of having this meeting with Burr, with whom he had had for several years a cipher correspondence. Wilkinson furnished him with an elegant barge, with sails and crew, and gave him a letter of introduction to Daniel Clark, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, and Burr went down the river.* In his note Wilkinson commended Burr as a persecuted man, who had a claim on his services, about whose business there were many things of which he could not write, and for which he referred him to Burr in person. In New Orleans Burr, on account of the eminent position he had held in the previous administration, was highly honored, dined with Governor Claiborne and other distinguished persons, and was shown many other attentions.

It is to be noted, in view of subsequent events, that Mr. Clark, to whom Mr. Burr had been specially commended, within two months of Burr's visit set out on a journey to Mexico, with regard to the objects and results of which journey he wrote after his return to Wilkinson: "I have been to

*Clark, p. 119.

the land of promise, and have got safe from it, after having been represented as a person desirous of acquiring information about its strength, and where and how it may be assailed with the greatest probability of success. At a future period I shall communicate to you all I have picked up there."*

Wilkinson declared† that his purpose of commending Burr to Clark was that, since the expectation of election in Tennessee was at an end, he now desired to promote Burr's election to Congress from Orleans, or his appointment as governor in place of Claiborne. In his memoirs he complained that while he was thus ingenuously promoting Colonel Burr's political aspirations, Burr had already, while keeping him in ignorance, made Clark his confederate in the scheme for invading Mexico, and had persuaded Clark that himself and the army were ready to unite in an expedition against that country. A letter written from New Orleans during Burr's visit asserts that the common rumor there was that a combination was forming, the object of which was to take Louisiana out of the Union.

After a stay of some weeks in New Orleans, Burr went to Natchez, and from thence to Nashville, Lexington, Louisville, and from thence in September, 1805, to St. Louis, where he made a visit to Wilkinson, and also went with him to St. Charles. Before this, Major Seth Hunt stated that Wilkinson, on the twenty-eighth of June,‡ at Kaskaskia, in returning from his meeting with Burr at Fort Massac, declared to him that "he was engaged in a scheme full of danger, requiring enterprise; but, if successful, full of fortune and glory." §In the same year Wilkinson wrote to Colonel McKee, inquiring whether he could not raise a corps of cavalry "to follow his fortunes to Mexico."

At this time also, in June, and after his interview with Burr at Massac, Wilkinson assured General Adair, senator from Tennessee, that Burr reckoned on him in his project, and in a letter, marked "private," asks Adair to meet him, and he will tell him all, and that "they must have a peep at the unknown world beyond him."|| Of the meaning of this allusion perhaps a hint may be had in the question contained in Adair's reply,¶ "Pray, how far is it, and what kind of a way, from St. Louis to Santa Fé, and from thence to Mexico?" While Wilkinson protests that he knows nothing as yet of any confederacy, he declares his assurance that at this time Adair was connected with Burr's "sinister project."

*Wilkinson, Mem. II. App. 73.

‡Clark, 121.

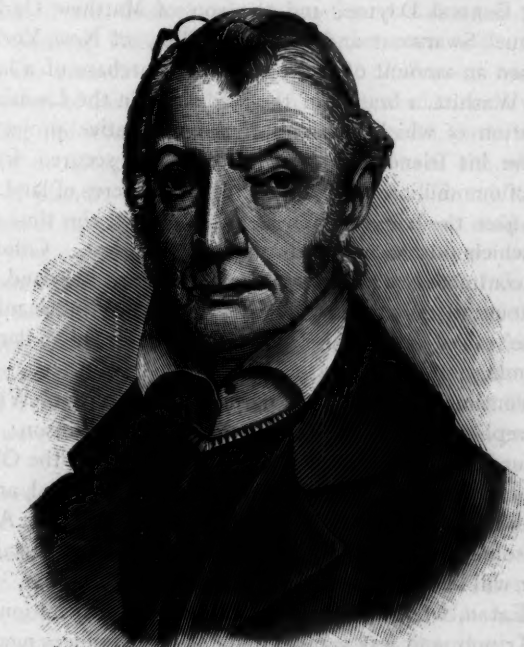
†Wilkinson, II., p. 285.

||Clark I., 120.

‡Wilkinson I, p. 292-3.

¶Wilkinson II., App. 77.

As the result of his conversations during Burr's stay in St. Louis in September, 1805, Wilkinson states that he was persuaded that Burr had a scheme in hand, but that he did not know of its treasonable character, and that his confidence in Burr was shaken. In Burr's trial, subsequently, Wilkinson declared that in an interview in St. Louis, Burr stated that he had "a great project in contemplation, but whether it was authorized by the government or not Burr did not explain, nor did he inquire." The extreme unlikelihood of this statement is apparent. General Wilkinson and Colonel Burr had for years been corresponding intimately in cipher. Wilkinson was the commander-in-chief of the army, and would be in a position to know what projects were on foot by the government. He knew, moreover, that Burr was in utter antagonism to the President.



AARON BURR.

In September Burr left St. Louis for the east, and on the twenty-third was at Vincennes, where was General Harrison, the governor of the Northwestern territory, to whom Wilkinson had written a letter strongly

commending Burr. Colonel Burr wrote back from there to Wilkinson, apparently about the project which they had in common: "I have had no conversation on the subject you mentioned, but we have gone round about it, and there is every evidence of good will, in which I have entire belief. There is probably some secret embarrassment, of which you and I are ignorant."*

Burr went on to Philadelphia and Washington, between which places he remained until August, 1806. He had been indicted, in 1805, by the grand jury in New York for murder, in the matter of Hamilton, and this had been stated by General Adair as the cause of his going west. He had influential political adherents in New York and New Jersey, among whom were General Dayton, and the son of Matthew Ogden, of New Jersey, Samuel Swarwout and Marinus Willet, of New York. Among them he raised an amount of money for the purchase of a large tract of land on the Washita, a branch of the Red river, in the Louisiana country, the colonization of which was one of the alternative projects which he placed before his friends. Baron Bastrop had secured from Spain a concession of one million two hundred thousand acres of land. Mr. Lynch had bought from the baron six-tenths of this tract, the time for the completion of which purchase was drawing to its close. Colonel Burr, in July, 1806, contracted to purchase from Mr. Lynch the land, and was to pay fifty thousand dollars, and did pay down five thousand. Burr, for this purpose, raised among his friends forty thousand dollars, and more was forthcoming.

In the meantime he was writing frequently in cipher to Wilkinson, and Wilkinson replied. In April, 1806, he wrote to Wilkinson: "The execution of our project is postponed. Want of water in the Ohio rendered the movement impracticable. The association is enlarged, and comprises all that Wilkinson desires. Confidence limited to a few. Although this delay is irksome, it will enable us to move with more certainty and dignity. Burr will be throughout United States this summer."†

General Eaton, who had recently returned from operations against the pirates of Tripoli, and was supposed to have grievances against the government, because of its failure to reimburse him for advances made there, and who therefore might be supposed to be ready to entertain propositions adverse to the government, testified‡ in the trial of Burr that during the

*Wilkinson, I., App. 82.

†Wilkinson, II., App. 83.

‡Burr's trial, I., p. 536. Life of Eaton, p. 391.

winter of 1805-6, Burr informed him that he was forming a military expedition against the Spanish provinces to the southwest of the United States, and also had a project of revolutionizing the territory west of the Alleghany mountains, and establishing an independent empire there; New Orleans to be the capital, and himself the chief; gathering a military force on the waters of the Mississippi, and carrying conquest to Mexico. He said that he had in person made a tour through the western country during the previous season; that he had secured to his interests and attached to his person the most distinguished citizens of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the territory of Orleans; that he had inexhaustible resources and funds; that the army of the United States would act with him and be reinforced by ten or twelve thousand men from the above mentioned states and territories. He said that General Wilkinson would be the commander, and Burr offered Eaton the second place. He said that Wilkinson was doubtful about his retention of his present position and desired to secure a permanency with him, and would also use his influence with the army on the promise to it of double pay and rations, the ambition of the officers, and the prospect of plunder and military achievements. In addition to the positive assurances that Burr said he had of assistance and coöperation, he said that the vast extent of territory of the United States west of the Alleghany mountains would, with its offer to adventurers of the mines of Mexico, bring to his standard volunteers from all quarters of the Union. The line of separation of the Union was to be drawn by the Alleghanies. He was persuaded that he had secured the most considerable citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee, but expressed some doubts about Ohio, as he thought they were too much of a plodding, industrial people to engage in the enterprise.

Burr had three plans in mind,* and was restlessly moving about, putting forward one or the other projects, as he found persons more favorable to one or the other.

First. To organize the restlessness and discontent of the frontier states and territories, and to separate the southwest from the Union, and set up an independent government, with its capital in New Orleans.

Second. In conjunction with the first, to enlist recruits and make arrangements for an expedition against Mexico and the Spanish provinces, especially in the event of a war between Great Britain and Spain, which at that time seemed inevitable.

*Amer. State Pap. Miscel. I., p. 468.

Third. In the event of the failure of both these projects, and as a means to commit to him and his measures irrevocably those who would revolt at such revolutionary plans as the foregoing, the purchase and colonization of the tract of land on the Washita river.

In deciding upon his course he was driven on by desperation and disappointed ambition. He gave too much credit to the declarations of a few partisan leaders who, in the desire to serve their own ends, overstated the restlessness of the western people. He made no proper estimate of the simple, law-abiding, republican habits of the great body of the inhabitants of the country. He deceived himself as to the conditional, really timid pledges of adherence on the part of a few men, which actually were wholly falsified in the event. And yet the brilliant audacity and versatility of Burr, in spite of his being almost alone in his planning, and of the popular odium and social isolation in which he was held, inspired and kept life in his scheme in spite of its desperation. As Wirt said afterward: "Pervading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allurement which he can contrive, men of all ranks and descriptions. To youthful ardor he presents danger and glory; to ambition, rank and titles and honors; to avarice, the mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses he presents the object adapted to his taste."*

On the fifteenth of April, 1806, Mr. Jefferson says† that, about a month before that time, Burr called on him and, reminding him that Jefferson had, some five years before, intimated his purpose to give him a high position if he had not been elected as Vice-President, told him that he was now disengaged, had supported his administration, could do him, if he chose, great harm, and was willing to receive from him a proposition. Jefferson says that he replied to him that he was sensible of his talents, but that he must be aware the public had withdrawn their confidence from him; and that as to any harm Burr could inflict, he feared no injury which Burr could do him.

In May, 1806, General Wilkinson was ordered, because of the threatening character of the relations with Spain, to send all his available force from St. Louis to Fort Adams, now Vicksburg. He did so, and then ordered them up the Red river to guard the western frontier of the United States‡ along the river Sabine. The order from the war department under which he acted simply contemplated the placing of his forces at Fort Adams, guarding New Orleans, and then from there maintaining

*Burr's Trial, II., p. 118.

† Jefferson's Works, ix, 208.

‡ Wilkinson I, App. 87 and 90.

observations eastward in Florida and westward on the Sabine river.* The transportation of all his troops to the remote point up the Red river was faulted at the time as placing his force out of reach in case of any attack on New Orleans by an expedition under Burr coming down the Mississippi river. Wilkinson stated before the grand jury afterward in Washington that, between the time of his meeting Burr at Massac and this time, he had received six notes from him in cipher, which he did not desire to have exposed except in the last extremity,† and that they were calculated to inculcate him should they be exposed. Wilkinson left St. Louis to join the troops down the Mississippi on the twenty-fifth of August, and reached Natchitoches, on the Red river, on the twenty-second of September.



HERMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Burr arrived at Blennerhassett's Island,‡ on the Ohio river, on his way west, in September, 1806. Blennerhassett was an Irish gentleman, a bar-rister of literary and philosophical tastes, who had spent too much of his

* Jeff. Works, V, p. 25.

† Clark, p. 117.

‡ Blennerhassett Pap., p. 126.

not large fortune in the purchase, eight years before, and adornment of an island on the Ohio, fourteen miles below Marietta. He now found himself wanting in ready means, and willing to embark in the southern venture, to which Burr had in general terms invited him, unconscious of all that it involved. A young family was growing up, in order to provide for whom he was ready to embark on the vague project in the Louisiana country which Burr, with his singular power of fascination, held up before him. They had corresponded, but had not personally met until this time, Blennerhassett having been absent when Burr stopped at the island in May of the previous year.

Burr imparted to his host, with some reserve, that the sentiments of the larger part of the inhabitants of the Orleans and Mississippi territories were disaffected to the government to such an extent that, unless early measures were taken to prevent it, they would fling themselves into the arms of any foreign power which should pledge itself to protect them. He declared that, in such an event, the western states would be placed in a dilemma, out of which they could only escape by an eastern or western ascendancy of interests; they would no longer consent to an alliance, but would sever themselves from the Union. He said that the separation of the western from the Atlantic states was no new project, that it was a matter of daily discussion at Washington, and that so thoroughly disgusted were the people of New Orleans with the conduct of the administration—both with reference to themselves and to Spanish and American affairs—that he expected to hear of the beginning of a revolt in their seizing on the bank and custom house, and appropriating to themselves the revenues and forces of the territory. He declared that he had been invited, when he was in New Orleans, to become the leader of a society of young men there, who had taken possession of a number of cannon belonging to the French, for a Mexican invasion.

Blennerhassett was easily drawn into the project which Burr had in hand. In the month of September active preparations were begun for the contemplated expedition. Contracts were given out for the construction of fifteen large batteaux, sufficient to convey five hundred men, and a large keel boat for the transportation of provisions and arms, for the most of which Blennerhassett became responsible. While this work was going on, Burr visited Marietta, where his elegant manners, ready address and former political eminence made him very popular. He was asked to drill some troops. He visited Chillicothe, the seat of government in Ohio,

and so passed on to Cincinnati, and then continued his journey to Lexington, Kentucky. He gave out that his expedition had the approval of the government. His object was to extend his acquaintance and enlist recruits. To these he promised pay, and land on the Washita.

He induced Blennerhassett to write for the *Ohio Gazette*, published at Marietta, a series of essays, the design of which was to show the permanent antagonism between the commercial interests of the eastern and western states; that the land laws were invidious and unjust to western settlers; that the western people had paid the government more than four hundred thousand dollars a year, and had received nothing in return for it. On such considerations he based the conclusion that a separation of the eastern and western states was necessary, and that the western people should positively assert themselves. It is interesting to notice that, at this time, before the introduction of steam navigation, the writer remarks: "It will forever remain impracticable for our shipping to perform a return voyage against the currents of our long rivers." It was frequently found best then, in going from New Orleans to Cincinnati, instead of going up the river, to go around outside to Baltimore, and then travel overland to the Ohio.

Burr, accompanied by his daughter, Theodosia, and her husband, Mr. Alston, with Blennerhassett, went in October to Lexington, which was designated as the point of rendezvous. The town was then a central point in the west, and society was the most polite and intelligent in the Mississippi valley. The oldest and best families in the south were represented there. The manner of the reception of Burr and his associates in Lexington, the respect shown, the generous hospitality extended, flattered him with the hope of the popularity of the movement, a thorough organization of which was immediately begun.* Burr received from friends in Lexington not less than forty thousand dollars for the furtherance of his projects. In order to quiet alarm, the impression was given out that the object of the enterprise was simply the colonization of the Bastrop lands. Burr had brought with him a portion of the money raised in the east. His son-in-law, Mr. Alston, had large property in South Carolina, but had no ready money; and so Blennerhassett had to join his personal credit with the security promised him on Alston's estate, in order to procure the means required.

In the meantime the preparations making had not escaped the attention

* Blennerhassett Pap., p. 467.

of the government at Washington.* Mr. Madison, the secretary of state, directed Mr. John Graham, secretary of the Orleans territory, to ascertain and report the facts. He learned in Lexington that Mr. Burr reported that he had a credit of two hundred thousand dollars with Daniel Clark of New Orleans. He also warned the governor of Ohio of the treasonable designs of Burr and Blennerhassett within the borders of the state. Burr, leaving directions for the completion of the preparations, and for Blennerhassett to join him with his force at the mouth of the Cumberland, went down to the Falls of the Ohio. He had scarcely landed in Kentucky before Colonel Daviess, the district attorney, on the third of November, before the federal court, denounced the conspiracy, and moved for a warrant for the arrest of Burr for treasonable practice. Judge Innis, who, with Judge Sebastian, John Brown and General Wilkinson, had been during the summer denounced by the *Western World*, published in Frankfort, as intriguing with Spain, after two days overruled the motion.†

Burr appeared in court and, while declaring that the judge had treated the matter as it deserved, said that, as the motion might be renewed in his absence, he had challenged the district attorney to prove his charge. He retained Mr. Clay, then a young man, as one of his counsel. When the day of trial came, the attorney found that he could not procure his witnesses, and the grand jury returned the indictment "not a true bill," and completely exonerated him. The result greatly added to Burr's popularity in the state. Mr. Clay said that, before appearing for Burr, he called on him for a pledge that he was not unlawfully engaged, which he gave.‡ Mr. Clay afterward declared that Burr had lied. He met Burr for the first time after this in 1815, in the United States court room in New York, and Mr. Clay then declined to give to Burr his hand, because of the deception which had been practised on him.§

After the culmination of Burr's project, the Kentucky legislature instituted an inquiry into the allegation against Judge Sebastian, that he had been a pensioner of Spain for two thousand dollars a year; but he, to stifle the inquiry, resigned his office, but not before a committee had unanimously reported that for years he had been regularly receiving pay from Spain.

The authorities of Ohio moved vigorously in consequence of the information furnished them by Graham. The militia were called out, and pressed

* Blennerhassett Pap., p. 154.

† Butler, Kentucky, p. 315.

‡ Allen History Ken., p. 72.

§ Prentice, Life of Clay, p. 34.

upon Blennerhassett and his men so closely that, while some of the boats were stopped and Blennerhassett arrested, the latter was forcibly released by his fellow conspirators, and he and his men in boats left the island and started down the Ohio at midnight of the tenth of December.

In order to lull suspicion and to add to his resources, Burr had been compelled in Washington and New Orleans to assume a double part. To the Marquis de Yrujo, the Spanish minister, he protested that his purpose was to divide the American Union. This was a measure highly agreeable to Spain. The transfer of Louisiana to the United States was always a hateful thing. Many of the Spaniards in Louisiana hoped that the separation was not final;* they thought that they would recover the territory after some struggle over the different interpretations of the articles of the treaty concerning boundaries. Our commerce on the Mobile and Tombigbee rivers was harassed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. The boundaries of Louisiana on the line of the Sabine were in dispute. The Choctaws in the Mississippi territory were incited to war with the United States. The former Spanish governor, Casa Calvo, and the Intendente stayed on in New Orleans and were the centre of cabals. They were told by Governor Claiborne, January 10, 1806, that they must leave the territory. In consequence they were greatly offended.† Yrujo therefore entered heartily into Burr's plans to divide the Union, and visited and advised with him. He offered him the use of ten thousand stand of arms, and money to any necessary amount.‡

On the other hand, to Merry, the British minister to Washington, Burr represented that he was intending to proceed against Mexico, and as such a measure would be favorable to British interests, and would throw the United States into alliance with England as opposed to France and Spain, Burr declared that he had from Merry the pledge that the British fleet would come to the mouth of the Mississippi river to help him, and that Commodore Truxton had gone to Jamaica to communicate, on the part of Burr, with the British commander. Truxton did not leave Washington, however, in fact, but communicated to the President regularly all that Burr said to him.

On the eighth of October General Wilkinson was at Natchitoches. He had written to Burr in cipher on the thirteenth of May, asking from him a statement of his designs. On this day there came to him Mr. Swartwout, of New Jersey, with a letter of introduction to him from Burr, and

* Gayarré, S. D., p. 128.

† Madison II., 398.

‡ Gayarré Am. Dom., p. 181.

another letter for Colonel Cushing, the second in command, from General Dayton. He said that he was on his way to New Orleans, and had expected to find the army at Fort Adams on the Mississippi, and offered his services as a volunteer. The next morning Wilkinson told Cushing that Swartwout had brought him intelligence of an enterprise that was on foot in the western states, inimical to the United States, in which a great number of persons, possessing wealth, popularity and talents, were engaged; that Colonel Burr was at the head of it; that he had been offered the second command, and that the army was reckoned on to support it. Wilkinson bound Cushing to secrecy about the project and his communication.

The following are the letters thus received, all in cipher, the first from Burr, and dated July 22: * "I have at length obtained funds and have actually commenced. The eastern detachments from different points, and under different pretenses, will rendezvous on the Ohio on the first of November. Everything internal and external favors our view—naval protection of England is secured. Truxton is going to Jamaica to arrange with the admiral there, and will meet us at Mississippi. It will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only, and Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward August 1, never to return. Send forthwith an influential friend with whom Burr may confer; this is essential to concert and harmony of movement. Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson, westward of the mountains, who could be useful, with a note delineating their character. Our project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr's plan is to move down rapidly from the falls (of the Ohio) on the fifteenth of November with the first five hundred or one thousand men in light boats, now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the fifth and fifteenth of December, there to meet you; then to determine whether to seize or pass by Baton Rouge. Send an answer; draw on me for all expense."

The next two letters delivered to Wilkinson were written by General Dayton, the close friend of Burr; the first on the sixteenth of July: "Everything appears to have conspired to prepare the train for a grand explosion; are you also ready? As you are said to have removed your headquarters down the river, you can retain your present position without suspicion, until your friends join you in December somewhere on the river

*Amer. State Pap. Miscel. I., p. 471. Wilkinson II, p. 312.

Mississippi. Under the auspices of Burr and Wilkinson I shall be happy to engage, and when the time arrives you will find me near you." Eight days after this Dayton sought to bind Wilkinson fast to Burr's enterprise by intimating that he was in any event about to lose his position in the army. He wrote: "It is now well ascertained that you are to be displaced in next session. Jefferson will affect to yield reluctantly to the public sentiment, but yield he will; prepare yourself for it; you know the rest. You are not a man to despair, or even despond, especially when such prospects offer in another quarter. Are you ready? Wealth and glory. Louisiana and Mexico. Receive my nephew affectionately."

These letters came to Wilkinson on the eighth of October, but a little more than a month before the time named by Burr when he said he would be at the Falls of the Ohio with his force coming down the river. Although it would seem as though time would be of great value, and that he would hastily return to the Mississippi and place Fort Adams and New Orleans in a condition for defence, for thirteen days Wilkinson did nothing but engage himself with the small force of Spaniards on the Sabine, and, as he says, endeavor to draw further facts out of Swartwout about the expedition.* His delay in communicating with the President had the more significance since he knew that the route of the messenger overland to Washington consumed over a month at best. The President wrote on the third of January, 1807, to Wilkinson, that his letter of November 12, brought by a special messenger, only reached him on the day before, having taken over fifty days in the transit.†

General Wilkinson, in his affidavit, No. 81, as reported to congress, swore that, having been requested by Swartwout to write to Burr, whom he was soon to meet, he declined to do so. It was, however, extorted from him afterwards in the examination in Richmond that he did write a letter to Burr from Natchitoches, that it was sent to Natchez, to which place he followed, recovered it and destroyed it.‡ This is probably the point at which, after long uncertainty, he at length determined to give up Burr and hold to the government. And even then he shaped his course in such a way that, if he discovered that Burr's project caught the popular favor and was likely to succeed, he might not be found to be committed irrevocably against it.

Only on the twenty-first of October did he send a message to the President; and even then he did not send the letters or copies of them which

*Wilkinson II., p. 321.

†Jefferson's Works, V, p. 26.

‡Clark, p. 130.

he had received; nor did he in a long communication mention the name of Burr as connected with the expedition. While the letter from Burr can hardly fail to convince one that Wilkinson was previously informed as to the conspiracy, Wilkinson, in his letter to the President, seems intent upon concealing the complicity of Burr. He declares in his memoirs, that even yet he could hardly bring himself to believe that his "long-loved friend," as he calls him, could be engaged in a treasonable enterprise."*

On the fifth of November he received from Dr. Bollman, of New Orleans, a warm friend of Burr, copies of the letters of Burr and Dayton, which, for further certainty, had been commanded to be delivered to him. On the same day he received a letter from J. D. Donaldson, of Natchez, which informed him that a messenger from St. Louis had just made known to him a plan, with permission that he might inform the general of it, that, Wilkinson said, staggered credulity. It was that there was an expedition on foot to revolutionize the western country which was matured and ready to explode; that Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Orleans and Indiana are combined to declare themselves independent on the fifteenth of November. It was added that an accredited agent of the conspiracy had approached some of the most influential persons in St. Louis and asked them to join, saying that if money was necessary it might be commanded to any extent. It was stated that the persons thus applied to altogether refused to concur in any such plan, and that it would be only superior force that would dispense with the oath of allegiance to the United States. The fact of the communication of this project in St. Louis was asserted; but, it was added, that there were only four persons in St. Louis privy to the disclosure made by the secret agent.†

It was, Wilkinson says, only on the receipt of this message that his mind, not even persuaded by what Swartwout had told him, and the letters brought him, was convinced that there was a conspiracy, and that Burr was at the head of it. It was only on the twelfth of November, more than a month after the receipt of the letters from Burr, that Wilkinson wrote to the President, sending a copy of the letters which he had received from Burr and Dayton. Even then he sent copies which were, as he himself afterwards confessed, garbled, with important changes made, and with all reference in them to Burr's previous communications with him taken out. He says that this was done in order that he might

* II., p. 323.

†Wilkinson, I., App. 88.

not be inculpated with him. He at different times swore that one and the other forms of this important letter were faithful and correct. The fact that he was suspected was at all times present to his mind. When he revealed to Colonel Cushing the substance of Burr's letter, he bade him mark the date, in order that he might, if called on, make a statement afterward. Colonel Freeman, the commander in New Orleans, testified that Wilkinson put before him the rank and wealth which he might have if he would side with Burr. Governor Mead,* of Mississippi, wrote to Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana: "If Burr passes this territory with two thousand men, I have no doubt but that General Wilkinson will be your worst enemy. Be on your guard against the wily general. He is not much better than Cataline. Consider him as a traitor, and act as if certain thereof."† The messenger who took Wilkinson's letter of November 12, to the President affirmed that the first question which Jefferson put to him was: "Is Wilkinson sound in this business?"

The President, on his receipt of Wilkinson's first letter, as well as from information gained in other ways, issued his proclamation‡ against the conspiracy of Burr on November 27, 1806, in which he warned all persons from engaging in the treasonable expedition.

After Burr had secured his triumphal acquittal in Frankfort, about the middle of December, he went to Nashville to gather his recruits; but the proclamation of the President was now pressing hard upon him; and, while he had always overrated the number and zeal of his adherents, this evidence that those who joined him must be prepared to encounter the opposition of the government, paralyzed his work. The President afterward declared§ his judgment that the first blow which the enterprise received was from the energy of Governor Tiffin at Marietta, and that the plot was crippled by the activity of Ohio.

Burr went down the Cumberland river with only two boats, although he expected a force to come overland from Tennessee, and meet him on the Mississippi near Natchez. Burr knew thoroughly the condition of the road from Nashville to Bayou Pierre, the point on the Mississippi near Natches, where the force was to rendezvous. On the twenty-seventh of December Burr joined Blennerhassett,|| who had nine boats, at the mouth of the Cumberland; and they all proceeded down the Mississippi. Six days

*Cable, *Creoles of Lou.*, p. 153.

†Wilkinson, *I.*, App., 96.

‡Gayarré, *Am. Dom.* p. 169.

§Jefferson's Works, V., p. 28.

||Blennerhassett Pap., 186.

after they came to Chickasaw Bluffs, where was Lieutenant Jackson with a detachment of United States troops. Burr strove to induce him to join them, putting before him in strong colors what brilliant results would follow for those who survived, and while he did not state fully what his plans were, he assured him that they were honorable. Jackson, however, was firm in refusing. The situation for Burr had now become desperate. Those who had pledged to him their adherence altogether withdrew on the appearance of the President's proclamation, which showed the lawlessness of the undertaking. All the western states called out their militia, and the most rigid measures were taken all along the Mississippi to quell the expedition. Burr saw that he must destroy all the military features of his enterprise, and declare that it was only intended as a colonizing party for the Washita country. Accordingly one night he ordered all the chests of arms to be thrown into the Mississippi river.

Burr landed at Bayou Pierre, thirty miles above Natchez, in the Mississippi territory, on the seventh of January, 1807. On the seventeenth he surrendered himself to Cowles Mead, the acting governor,* only declaring his wish not to fall into the hands of Wilkinson, whom he called a perfidious villain, and said that if he was sacrificed his portfolio would prove him to be a villain. When the case of Burr was given into the hands of the grand jury, they declared that there was no evidence against him, and, pending his request to be released on his own recognizance, and hearing that instantly upon his release he was to be arrested again by the governor, he changed his clothes and escaped across the country eastward. His company, in the meantime, were in great confusion, and with no money. The leaders were arrested by the United States authorities, and the others scattered, and went back home.

In the meantime Wilkinson, aroused at last from his indecision, seemed determined by a frenzied, histrionic† activity against Burr to conceal his previous complicity. He reached New Orleans on the twenty-fifth of November ordering Fort Adams to be dismantled, which should have been rather strengthened, if, as he declared to the President, seven thousand men were coming down the river with Burr. He made requisition on Governor Mead for his militia, in order to take them to New Orleans. This, however was refused on the reasonable ground that it would strip the country of all means of resistance. He arbitrarily arrested in New Orleans those whom he suspected of complicity with Burr, some of whom could give

*Wilkinson, II., 337.

†Cable, *Creoles of Lou.*, p. 153. Eaton, p. 403.

very damaging evidence against himself; and with the force of the army resisted the process of the courts for their release under the *habeas corpus* act.

Burr subsequently declared that he never had any idea of dividing the Union, that his hopes of prospering in his expedition against Mexico had depended upon war being declared between Great Britain and Spain, that this expedition was defeated by the death of Pitt early in 1806, and that Wilkinson thereupon lost heart in the project. Wilkinson confessed, however, that in October he said to Swartwout he would not oppose Burr's expedition.*

Burr was rearrested on the seventeenth of February, 1807, in northern Alabama, traveling with a companion, under an assumed name, endeavoring to make his way to Pensacola, then under the king of Spain. He was charged with high misdemeanor, in setting on foot within the United States a military expedition against Spain, a friendly power; and also with treason, in assembling an armed force, with design to seize New Orleans, to revolutionize the territory attached, and separate the western from the Atlantic states. It was with great difficulty that Burr could be taken through the country as a prisoner. He appealed to the civil authorities against his military arrest. The ladies everywhere espoused his cause, and children were named after him.†

At length Burr reached Richmond, Virginia, where, under Chief Justice Marshall, his trial began on the seventeenth of August. There was a brilliant array of counsel on each side. Political feeling ran at that time very high, and the greatest excitement prevailed in Richmond and in Washington over the progress and results of the trial. The President was a Republican, and was bitterly opposed to Burr. The Chief Justice was more of a Federalist, and was scrupulously exact and, some thought, almost timid, in his rulings. The President wrote at the time to a friend: "The Federalists make Burr's cause their own and exert their whole influence to shield him from punishment. It is unfortunate that federalism is still predominant in our judiciary department, which is consequently in opposition to the legislative and executive branches, and is able to baffle their measures often."‡

Testimony was received touching Burr's conversations, showing his intent before overt acts began: In addition to the evidence given by General Eaton, which has been already referred to, Colonel Morgan and his

*Clark, p. 163.

†Pickett's *Hist. Alabama*, *ad loc.*

‡Jefferson's *Works*, V, 165.

son testified that in August, 1806, Colonel Burr had, at their house in western Pennsylvania, declared that, in less than five years, the west would be totally divided from the Atlantic states, and that the Alleghany mountains would be the line of division. He said that great numbers were not necessary to execute great military deeds; all that was wanted was a leader in whom they could place confidence, and who, they believed, would carry them through. He averred that, with two hundred men, he could drive congress, with the President at its head, into the river Potomac, and that, with five hundred men, he could take possession of New York.*

Evidence was also received concerning the transactions on Blennerhassett's Island, which, however, took on an unmistakably warlike character only after Burr had left. Long arguments were heard as to the competency of other evidence which was offered. At length the court ruled † that no testimony relative to the conduct and declaration of the prisoner elsewhere and subsequent to the transactions on Blennerhassett's Island could be admitted, because such testimony, being in its nature corroborative, and incompetent to prove the overt act in itself, was irrelevant until there was proof had of the overt act by two witnesses; that the overt act on Blennerhassett's Island was proved, but the presence of the accused was not alleged; that his presence when and where the overt act was committed was necessary. In consequence of this ruling, the jury, on September the first, 1807, found that Burr was not proved guilty of treason, under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to them.

In the trial for misdemeanor, Burr was, on the fifteenth of September, discharged, because the evidence sustaining it was, under the former ruling of the court, excluded. It was also ruled ‡ (1) that the declaration of three persons, not forming a part of the transaction, and not made in the presence of the accused, is not to be received; (2) that acts of accomplices, except so far as they prove the character and object of the expedition, cannot be taken in evidence; (3) that acts of accomplices in another district, even though they constitute substantial cause for a prosecution, cannot be taken in evidence unless they go directly to prove the charges made in this district; (4) that legal testimony to show that the expedition was military, and destined against Spain, is to be received.

Burr was accordingly remanded for trial to Ohio, where the offense was said to have been committed; but no further proceedings against him were

* Burr's Trial, I, p. 566.

† Burr's Trial, I, 549.

‡ Burr's Trial (Robertson), I, 539.

had. Indignation was very widely expressed at the result of the trial. The President himself wrote thus to General Wilkinson* about the failure to convict Burr: "The scenes which have been enacted at Richmond are such as have never before been exhibited in any country where all regard to public character has not yet been thrown off. They are equivalent to a proclamation of impunity to every traitorous combination which may be formed to destroy the Union. However, they will produce an amendment to the constitution which, keeping the judges independent of the Executive, will not leave them so of the nation." Burr went abroad directly after the trial.

The case of Blennerhassett, which was really determined by the result of Burr's trial, was remanded to Ohio, but no further prosecution followed. He was distressed by the losses which he had brought on himself by his adherence to Burr. He became, however, completely disillusioned as to Burr's perfidy and sensuality in the closer intimacy which he had with him during the trial in Richmond. Although both Burr and his son-in-law, Alston, had promised to make good the advances which he had made, they neither of them did so, although Blennerhassett, in the loss of his home and in his utter need otherwise, begged them for a repayment of what he had sacrificed for Burr. In consequence he suffered from poverty to the end of his life. His son, Joseph Lewis Blennerhassett, was engaged in the practice of the law, and died in Lincoln county, Missouri, in 1862.

Wilkinson, in the trial of Burr, of course gave only so much evidence against him as his hatred of Burr drew forth and as would conceal his own complicity. He was true to his craven instincts to the last. Immediately after the conclusion of the trial in Richmond he sent his confidential agent, Walter Burling, into Mexico, as he declared, "on grounds of public duty and professional enterprise, to attempt to penetrate the veil which concealed the topographical route to the City of Mexico, and the military defenses which intervened, feeling that the equivocal relations of the two countries justified the *ruse*."† Burling was really sent to apprise the viceroy of the attempt of Burr, and to demand, on Wilkinson's behalf, a compensation of two hundred thousand dollars for, as he declared, "great pecuniary sacrifices in defeating Burr's plan, and, Leonidas-like, throwing

*Jefferson's Works, V., 198.

†Wilkinson L., p. 417.

himself into the pass of Thermopylæ." Yturriagaray, the viceroy, received the communication with indignation, and told Burling that General Wilkinson in counteracting any treasonable plan of Burr's did no more than comply with his duty, that he would take good care to defend the kingdom of Mexico against any attack or invasion, and that he did not think himself authorized to give one farthing to General Wilkinson in compensation for his pretended services. The demand having been contemptuously refused, Burling was ordered to leave the country.*

Thus ended the last attempt at separating the western country from the American Union. As all such attempts had their strength in the distance and isolation, and consequently the ignorance and prejudice of the sections, it may be confidently believed that in the comparative homogeneity of the affections and interests of all the people of the land now, by reason of rapid and constant communication, no such attempts will again be made, or, if made, will gain even the limited standing and proportions which those in the past have done.

Our multiplying railroad bars and telegraph wires are more than material lines of communication. Themselves created by the physical and commercial needs of a great people, they are the sensitive nerve connections of a complex social organism. Along them pulse the currents of intelligence and an identical interest, and they convey and perpetuate the throbbings of simultaneous impulses and common national aspirations. In these are furnished, under God, the sure hope and presage of the perpetuity of our American Union.

C. F. ROBERTSON.

*Davis, Burr, II., pp. 401-4. Blennerhassett Pap., pp. 210 and 578.

THE SIX NATIONS.

It is less than ninety years since the entire portion of western New York, covering over six million acres of land in the present counties of Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Allegany, Steuben, Erie, Wyoming, Livingston, Ontario, Yates, Niagara, Genesee and Monroe, and the western portions of Wayne, Schuyler and Chemung, were in the undisputed possession and control of the Six Nations of New York.

Massachusetts claimed title to these lands by grant of King James I of England to the Plymouth company, made in 1628, extending westward to the Pacific ocean.

New York claimed title to the same territory by grant from Charles II to the Duke of York and Albany, in 1663, the western boundary of which grant was not specifically defined.

These conflicting claims between New York and Massachusetts were settled by commissioners on the part of each state, at Hartford, December 16, 1786, by Massachusetts ceding to New York the "government, sovereignty and jurisdiction" of such lands, and by New York ceding in terms its "right of preëmption of the soil of the native Indians and all other estate (except of sovereignty and jurisdiction) to Massachusetts, its grantees and assigns forever."

The tenth article of this compact provided that no purchase from the native Indians should be valid unless made in the presence of and approved by a commissioner appointed by Massachusetts and confirmed by it. In 1777 Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham contracted to purchase of Massachusetts this entire tract of six million acres for one million dollars, payable in a kind of scrip called "consolidated securities," then much below par. The scrip soon after rising to par, prevented them from fulfilling their agreement, although the purchase price of the land was less than seventeen cents per acre. They, however, by treaty with the Six Nations, held at Hanadesaga (now Geneva) in July, 1788, purchased of the Indians their title to about two million two hundred and fifty thousand acres from the eastern part of the tract, extending from the north line of Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario, which Phelps and Gorham retained from their pur-

chase of Massachusetts, and is called the "Phelps and Gorham Purchase." The title to the balance of the tract, containing about three million seven hundred and fifty thousand acres, reverted to Massachusetts, by reason of Phelps and Gorham's failure to pay for it.

Massachusetts conveyed these lands to Robert Morris, of Revolutionary memory (or in trust for him) by five deeds, dated May 11, 1791, subject to the preëmption right of the Senecas, who claimed to own the lands in exclusion of the other five Indian tribes of New York. The consideration paid by Robert Morris to Massachusetts for this tract was about \$225,000, or six and one-fifth cents per acre.

By the treaty at Big Tree, on Genesee river, September 15, 1797, between Robert Morris and Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Governor Blacksnake, Little Beard, Captain Pollard, Hot Bread, Captain Bullet, Young King, John Jemison, and thirty-seven other chiefs and sachems of the Seneca nation, the Senecas sold to Morris all their lands in western New York, containing 3,750,000 acres, for \$100,000, being at the rate of two and one-half cents per acre (excepting certain reservations), which funds are held in trust and invested by the treasurer of the United States, and interest thereon paid annually in annuities by the United States Indian agent to the heads of families of the Senecas.

The Senecas reserved in the treaty at Big Tree the following ten reservations: Cattaraugus reservation, containing 26,880 acres in the counties of Chautauqua and Erie; Allegany reservation in Cattaraugus county, containing forty-two square miles; Buffalo Creek reservation in Erie county, containing one hundred and thirty square miles; Tonawanda reservation in the counties of Erie, Genesee and Niagara, containing seventy-one square miles; Conawaugus reservation, containing two square miles; Big Tree reservation, containing two square miles; Little Beard's reservation, containing two square miles; Squawky Hill reservation, containing two square miles; Gordeau reservation, containing twenty-eight square miles; Ka-own-a-de-au reservation, containing sixteen square miles; in all 337 square miles.

The Senecas intended to reserve also by the treaty at Big Tree the Oil Spring reservation, one mile square, containing their famous oil spring, three miles west of Cuba in the counties of Allegany and Cattaraugus. It is a muddy, circular pool of water about thirty feet in diameter, on low, marshy ground, without outlet, and apparently without bottom. The Indians have gathered oil from it from time immemorial, called Seneca oil,

which they have used for medicinal purposes. They have a tradition that many centuries ago a very fat squaw fell into this pool and sank, never to rise, and ever since that event Seneca oil has risen to the surface of the water in considerable quantities. It is without doubt the same oil spring mentioned in the letter of instruction, dated Albany, September 3, 1700, of Lord Belmont to Colonel Romer, his majesty's chief engineer in America, with respect to locating the British fort at Onondaga, in which letter his lordship instructed Colonel Romer about locating the fort, and that he was to visit the country of all of the Five Nations, and says:

You are to observe the country exactly as you go and come, the lakes, rivers, plains and hills, so you may report and make a map thereof. You are to visit the Onondagas' country and the salt spring, and taste the water, and give me your opinion thereon. You are to encourage all the Indian nations as much as you can by assuring them of the king's care for them and protection, and you are to magnify the king's greatness and power to them, and to assure them that the frontier of this province shall be well fortified in a short time, so that they shall not fear the French of Canada. You will do well to assure them of my kindness, provided they continue faithful to the king and keep no sort of correspondence with the French in Canada, nor receive any of the priests or Jesuits among them.

You are to go and visit the well or spring which is eight miles beyond the Senecas' further castle, which, it is said, blazes up into a flame when a lighted coal is put into it.

It is stated that Colonel Romer did as he was instructed, and that from that time forward the Five Nations were entirely devoted and wedded to the interests of the English.

The Oil Spring reservation not being reserved by the treaty at Big Tree, the legal title to it passed from the Senecas to Robert Morris, with the other lands of that purchase, and through him to the Holland land company and its grantees by the regular chain of title to Benjamin Chamberlain, Staley N. Clark and William Ghalliger, land owners at Ellicottville, who also owned the lands surrounding it. They, however, supposed that it was an Indian reservation, and had treated it as such until after Mr. Clark was sent to Congress as representative from this district, when, upon examining his book of treaties in the congressional library, he first discovered, to his great surprise, that the Oil Spring reservation was not mentioned as reserved to the Senecas in the treaty, and that the legal title to it was in him and his two partners. They immediately took formal possession of it and surveyed it into four equal parcels of one hundred and sixty acres each; one-quarter of it was sold and conveyed to ex-governor Horatio Seymour of Utica, but the quarter containing the oil spring they conveyed to one Philonius Pattison, who cleared up and fenced almost eighty acres, erected a house and barn and set out an orchard. This was in 1850, when I was attorney for the Senecas, by appointment of the gov-

error of the state. The Senecas, indignant at the action of the land agents, in council directed their attorney to immediately bring an action of ejectment to recover the possession of the oil spring, which they had always claimed as their own, using the oil for medicinal purposes, and selling timber from it, and using it every year for camping purposes in going back and forth between their reservations on the Genesee river and the Allegany reserve.

I immediately commenced investigation to find evidence of the title of the Senecas to this reservation, particularly to find the first map of the Holland company of their lands in western New York, made by Joseph Ellicott about the year 1801. I made search for this map in the land offices at Ellicottville, Batavia and Mayville, but in vain; I visited the oldest chiefs and Indians on the reservations to find the map and learn of them what they knew about the treaty at Big Tree in 1797. I found three Indians who were present at the treaty; one of these was Governor Blacksnake, then one hundred and thirteen years old, whose Indian name was *To-wa-a-u*, signifying "chain breaker." His English name, Governor Blacksnake, was given to him by President Washington on the occasion of the first visit of this famous war chief of the Senecas and Cornplanter on business for their people to the then seat of government at Philadelphia. I found Blacksnake, on the occasion of my visit to him, at his residence on the banks of the Allegheny river, two miles below Cold Spring, confined to his bed from a fall, dislocating his hip, from which he never recovered. I asked him through my interpreter, Harrison Halftown, what he knew about the treaty at Big Tree. He said he was there and knew all about it; that it was agreed upon all around that the oil spring should be reserved one mile square; that when the treaty was read over in presence of all the chiefs it was noticed and mentioned that the oil spring had been left out of the treaty, and that then Thomas Morris, who was the attorney for Robert Morris, drew up a paper which he described as about three inches wide and twice as long, and handed it to Pleasant Lake, a leading Seneca sachem, and stated to the chiefs that that paper contained the oil springs. Blacksnake said he did not know what became of this paper, that Pleasant Lake soon after went to Onondaga and died there.

I asked him if he had ever seen a map of the Seneca reservations. He said he had one in his chest, under the end, where he was lying. He told Harrison Halftown, my interpreter, to pull out the chest, which he did, and opening it, we found what I had long searched for, the first map of

the Holland purchase, made in 1801 by Joseph Ellicott, the surveyor of the Holland company and its first agent at Batavia, and who was present at the Big Tree treaty and signed the treaty as a witness. I asked Governor Blacksnake how he came by that map. He said that Joseph Ellicott presented it to the Senecas in a general council of the chiefs and warriors at the Tonawanda reservation about the year 1801, that Ellicott made a speech to the Senecas, in which he stated that that map contained a correct description of the eleven reservations reserved to the Senecas by the treaty at Big Tree, four years previously; that the eleven places marked in red on the map belonged to the red men. Among the places so marked was the Oil Spring reservation. *Blacksnake said that this map was entrusted to his care and keeping by the Seneca chiefs, and that he had had it in his possession ever since.† This map is on file, with the testimony of Blacksnake taken on the trial of the action to recover the Oil Spring reservation, in the clerk's office of Cattaraugus county at Little Valley. On his evidence, and of other Indians who were present at the treaty, corroborating Blacksnake, and particularly the testimony of Hon. Stala N. Clark, who was called as a witness for the Indians, the Seneca nation recovered a verdict. Clark testified that he had always regarded this tract as an Indian reservation, and had treated it as such up to the time he went to congress. The first trial was had before Judge Johnson and a jury, but owing to an error in the judge's charge to the jury the judgment was reversed by the general term of the supreme court and a new trial granted. On the second trial, before Judge Richard P. Mansir and a jury, the Sen-

*There is some uncertainty about the exact age of Governor Blacksnake. He died September 29, 1859. Nathaniel T. Strong, a leading educated Seneca, a graduate of Union college, during many years clerk and counsellor of the Seneca nation, and who delivered an able lecture upon Red Jacket, before the Buffalo Historical society, a few years since, says in an article published over his signature in the *New York Sun* in 1859, that Governor Blacksnake was born in 1737, and was 122 years old at his death. This is pretty good authority; but Harrison Halftown, another leading educated Seneca, now living, and who was a near neighbor to and very intimate with Governor Blacksnake, says that he was born in 1742, and that his opinion is formed from data of certain well-known events which Blacksnake had often stated to him, and among others that he was 13 years old at the time of the capture of Fort Duquesne in 1755, and was, therefore, of the age of 117 years at his death. I first saw Governor Blacksnake in 1852. He was then a tall, slim man, straight as an arrow, with very keen, piercing, black eyes, of commanding presence, hair slightly gray, the deep furrows in his face indicating great age. Four years later, when confined to his bed by sickness, he was subjected to a rigid cross-examination as a witness in the Oil Spring suit, and exhibited great clearness of recollection and vigor of mind.

†On this occasion Governor Blacksnake exhibited two silver medals which had been presented to him at different times by President Washington. On one, dated 1796, there was engraved the picture of a white man and Indian chief shaking hands. One, as he said, was his great father, George Washington, and the other Governor Blacksnake.

ecas again had judgment for recovery of the reservation. The defendants, through their counsel, Hon. A. G. Rice, appealed to the general term, which affirmed the judgment at the circuit. The case was appealed by the defendants to the court of appeals, which affirmed the judgment of the general term and circuit, fully establishing the title in the Indians. The late Chauncey Tucker, of Buffalo, was associated with me as counsel on these trials.

Soon after this the Senecas leased this reservation for oil purposes to a corporation organized in Wall street, called the Seneca oil company, on which lease the Indians received a bonus of \$10,000. The company issued a large amount of stock, which was at one time at par, and made a good deal of money. It put down several wells on the reservation and obtained a few barrels of heavy lubricating oil, but not in paying quantities.

I desire here to state to the credit of the late Stala N. Clark, whose character for integrity was held in high repute by all who knew him, that the action of his company in taking possession of this reservation from the Indians and selling it was not approved by him.

By treaty held at Buffalo Creek reservation, August 31, 1826, the Senecas sold to the Ogden land company their six reservations on the Genesee river, 33,409 acres of the Tonawanda reservation, 33,637 acres of Buffalo Creek reservation, in Erie county, one square mile in the town of Hanover, Chautauqua county, the "mile strip" and "mile square," in Erie county, of the Chautauqua reservation—in all 87,526 acres, for \$48,216, being at the rate of about 55 cents per acre. These lands were among the richest and most valuable in western New York. The treaty was executed in the presence of Oliver Forward, commissioner on behalf of the United States, Nathaniel Gorham, superintendent for the state of Massachusetts, and was witnessed by Jasper Parish, United States Indian agent, and Horatio Jones, United States interpreter, and was signed by forty-seven chiefs and sachems of the Seneca nation, among whom appear the names of Red Jacket, Young King, Cornplanter, Governor Blacksnake, Captain Strong, Tall Chief, Captain Pollard, Two Guns, Silverheels, Captain Shongo, Halftown, Tall Peter, Twenty Canoes, Blue Eyes, Red Eyes, Seneca White, Charles O. Beal, Son of Cornplanter, and other well-known chiefs of the Senecas, all of whom are supposed to have long since departed to the "happy hunting grounds." Forty-three thousand two hundred and fifty dollars (\$43,250) of the money paid to the Senecas for these lands were invested in stock of the public debt of the United States, and

transferred to the Ontario bank at Chautauqua, and afterwards to the United States treasury in trust for the Senecas, upon which they have received each year since 1826 annuity interest at 5 per cent., amounting annually to \$2,162.50.

In 1878 the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, at the request of the Seneca nation, appointed a civil engineer to resurvey the outer boundaries of the Cattaraugus reservation in the counties of Erie, Chautauqua, and Cattaraugus, the Senecas paying the engineer and surveyor \$2,000 for the job. The engineer made his survey, and included in it the three tracts of land which I have mentioned as the "mile strip" and "mile square," in Erie county, and the "mile square," in the county of Chautauqua, containing in all 5,120 acres, which lands had been in the undisputed possession of white men and their grantees, under deeds of purchase, in good faith, from the Ogden land company, for over fifty years. As the survey included these lands *within* the outer boundaries of the reservation, it led the Senecas to believe that they still owned the lands, and naturally produced great uneasiness upon the part of hundreds of white men who had purchased the land in good faith from the Ogden land company, and had cleared up farms and erected buildings thereon for permanent homes. It is a well-known historical fact that the treaty at Buffalo Creek reservation, of August 31, 1826, by which the Senecas sold to the Ogden company about 210,380 acres of their most valuable land on Genesee river, at Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, and Cattaraugus reservations, at a fraction over 55 cents per acre, was at that time very unpopular with the Seneca people generally, so that many of them, aided by their staunch friends, the Quakers, always vigilant in protecting their interests, strongly opposed the ratification of the treaty by the United States senate.

The Senecas now claim title to all the lands covered by that treaty, now thickly populated by thriving villages, especially those on the Genesee river, and base their claim upon the assumed ground that the treaty was never formally ratified by the United States senate; also on the ground of inadequacy of the price paid for them; that \$4,966 of the purchase price of the lands was never placed to their credit in the United States treasury, but was used, with other funds of the Ogden land company, in paying from seven to ten of the leading Seneca chiefs who signed the treaty, each a bonus for signing it in the form of an annuity of from \$80 to \$120 per year, from the date of the treaty, in 1826, during life. Soon after the survey mentioned had been completed, in 1879, the Seneca nation sent a dele-

gation to my office, at Forestville, to advise with me, I being then United States Indian agent, relating to the legality of their claim. I told them I thought their claim was pretty stale, as they had received annuities from the purchase price of these lands for over half a century. Not satisfied with this advice, they sent delegates to Albany to consult the Hon. Martin I. Townsend, United States attorney for the northern district of New York. He gave them a hearing, and told them he would carefully investigate the matter, and advise them by letter of his opinion. He did so, and wrote to them in due time, giving an opinion adverse to the claim and his reasons therefor. But this did not satisfy the Senecas. With a pertinacity highly characteristic of them, they continued to agitate the subject, and finally, by resolution adopted in council, employed General James G. Strong, of Buffalo, as their attorney, to bring action to test the legality of the treaty of 1826. General Strong's appointment as attorney for this purpose has been approved, and authority given him by the Secretary of the Interior to bring action as the attorney for the Seneca nation for such purpose. The action had not been commenced a few days since, when General Strong wrote me that he was getting things in good readiness to commence one.

The Cattaraugus reservation, as reserved by the treaty at Big Tree, in 1797, embraced a strip of land about one mile wide, extending westerly from Eighteen-mile creek, or Kough-gaunt-gie creek (distant about fourteen miles southwesterly from Buffalo) along the south shore of lake Erie, through the towns of North Evans and Brant, in Erie county, and the towns of Hanover, Sheridan, and Dunkirk, in this county, to a point one mile east of Con-non-dua-we-ga (Canadaway) creek; thence up said creek one mile parallel thereto; thence on a direct line to said creek; thence down the same to lake Erie; thence along the lake to the mouth of Eighteen-mile creek. It also embraced a strip of land adjoining the above lands, one mile wide, on the north bank of Cattaraugus creek, between present villages of Irving and Gowanda. This reservation, therefore, originally covered the sites of the present villages of Angolola, Farnham, in Erie county, and of Irving, Silver Creek, Fredonia, and the city of Dunkirk, in Chautauqua county, and contained about fifty square miles.

By the treaty at Buffalo creek, on June 30, 1802, the Senecas exchanged the above lands with the Holland land company, for the present Cattaraugus reservation, including the "mile strip" and the "mile square," in Erie, and the "mile square," in Chautauqua (since sold as above stated),

in all about forty-two square miles, situated in above named counties, upon both sides of Cattaraugus creek, of very rich and fertile land. The pre-emption right was reserved in the treaty, and is now owned by the Ogden land company.

This exchange of land was a good one for the Senecas, in securing a reservation in compact form, of far superior quality of land than the other, although about three-fourths of the size of the original reserve. It was an especially fortunate exchange for the people of Chautauqua county, in giving them a frontage on lake Erie, and free access to the then important harbors at Irving, Silver Creek, and Dunkirk.

The Cattaraugus reservation has an Indian population of 1,640, of whom 1,418 are Senecas, 156 Cayugas, 48 Onondagas, 4 Tuscaroras, and 14 Tonawanda Senecas, being an increase in population since the state census of 1865 of 293.

The Senecas of Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Cornplanter reservations, numbering 2,311, own the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations, subject to whatever rights of occupancy the 314 Onondagas and Cayugas residing with them may have therein. This pre-emption right is derived from the prior discovery of the territory by civilized man, and in this instance restricts the Senecas from selling to others than the Ogden land company and its grantees. The Ogden land company claim that this right of pre-emption embraces the fee of the land, and that the Indians have the right of occupancy only so long as their tribal relation continues. The Senecas claim the absolute ownership of the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservation in fee, subject only to the right of the Ogden land company to purchase whenever they shall elect to sell.

This pre-emption right of the Ogden land company is a source of great uneasiness to the Indians of Cattaraugus and Allegany reservations, resting as a cloud upon the title of their lands. It stifles industry by withholding the best incentives to it, and the natural desire of man to acquire property, and the attachments of home and family. The Senecas have heretofore resisted every effort made by the state of New York to induce them to allot their lands in severalty, under the apprehension that such allotment might result in breaking up their tribal relations, and so forfeit their reservations to the Ogden land company.

Notwithstanding that the Indians of Cattaraugus reservation have held their land in common, and have not possessed the usual incentives to industry of other people, they have made good progress in civilization dur-

ing the past twenty-five years. In education, increase in population, intelligence, wealth and substantial comforts of life, their progress has been quite remarkable.

The Thomas asylum for the orphan and destitute Indian children of the Six Nations of New York, on the Cattaraugus reservation, was incorporated by an act of our state legislature in 1855, with Rev. Asher Wright, Eber M. Petit; and three other white men and five Indians as trustees, and has been since then in successful operation. It received its name from Philip E. Thomas, of Baltimore, Maryland, a member of the Society of Friends, who contributed funds for its establishment. It is open to all the orphan and destitute Indian children of the Six Nations, and has been from the first under excellent management, and is one of the most beneficent institutions of public charity in the state. The number of children, of both sexes, has averaged about one hundred. The girls have been taught to labor in household work, and the boys in manual labor upon the farm and in the shops connected with the asylum. About thirty acres of broom corn have been raised annually upon the farm, which the Indian boys in the winter have manufactured into brooms, bringing quite an income to the institution. The state appropriates annually about \$10,000 for its support.

There are ten Indian day schools on this reservation, taught thirty-two weeks each year, and mostly supported by annual appropriations from the state.

Among the actions of local interest prosecuted by the Seneca nation was one to establish the western boundary of the Cattaraugus reservation, adjoining the town of Hanover, in this county. The action was commenced in 1850, and continued through the official lives of three successive attorneys for the Senecas and a part of the fourth. Harris L. Knight, of Irving, had a dam across the Cattaraugus creek at Irving, and a valuable saw mill on its north bank. He claimed that his dam and mill were on his own land, and that the west bounds of the reservation were on the north bank of the creek; and the Senecas claimed the boundary line was down the centre of the creek. The action was tried five times at the Erie circuit, and the Seneca nation beaten on each trial, the circuit judges, and among them Judge Harris, of Albany, each holding that the true boundary line was on the north bank of the stream.

The legal question involved grew out of the construction to be given to the words in the east boundary line of the reservation, as men-

tioned in the treaty concluded at Buffalo Creek reservation, June 30, 1802, which defined its boundary as commencing at a stake standing on the north bank of Cattaraugus creek, on the south shore of Lake Erie; thence by various courses around the reservation to its northwest corner; thence north (crossing the creek) to a stake on the north bank of the Cattaraugus creek; *thence down the same, and along the several meanders thereof to the place of beginning*, being to the other stake named as standing on the north bank.

The defendant stoutly contested the right of the Indians to recourse, in each successive trial at the circuit, and the Indians being beaten, appealed from each trial at the circuit, to the general term of the supreme court. At the general term the defendant purposely failing to appear, a new trial was granted by default.

The action revolved in circle in the manner mentioned during ten years, with no prospect of its ever terminating. The defendant was in the meantime using the mill, which was largely supplied with black walnut, white wood, and ash logs from the reservation, doubtless hoping that the Senecas would, in time, get tired out, and abandon the fight. After the case had been so long in court the general term was asked by the plaintiff's attorney to take the papers, and, if they deemed proper, to deny the plaintiff's motion for a new trial, so as to enable the Senecas to carry the case to the court of appeals, and obtain its decision upon the disputed boundary. The case was duly appealed, and a special act of the legislature passed, giving this action and the Oil Spring reservation suit preference on the calendar, Major Hiram Smith, then member of the assembly from this assembly district, having charge of the bill. The case was soon after argued and submitted. The court of appeals decided that the true boundary was in the center of the creek, and granted a new trial, and the case was again tried at the circuit, and the nation secured a verdict establishing the boundary in the center of the creek, as claimed by them. I have been thus particular in giving a history of this important suit from its local interest in part, and to show the characteristic persistence of the Senecas in a course of action once entered upon, leading them, even in a lawsuit, to never surrender short of the judgment of the court of last resort.

The Allegany reservation, located on both sides of the Allegany river, in Cattaraugus county, is almost thirty-five miles long, and contains forty-two square miles, varying in width from one to two and one-half miles. The larger portion of it, immediately adjoining the river, is level and fer-

tile; the balance broken and hilly. It was formerly covered with heavy pine timber, and until recently the lumbering business, which was extensively carried on there, tended greatly to demoralize the Indians by diverting their attention from farming, and bringing them in contact with demoralizing influences. It is also traversed by a number of railroads, and has a large white population, composed largely of railroad employes, in the villages of Salamanca, West Salamanca, Vandalia, Carrolton, Great Valley, and Red House, which were surveyed and established by commissioners appointed for the purpose, under the act of congress passed February 19, 1875. Its present Indian population is 929, being an increase of 175 since the census was taken by the state in 1855. There are six Indian day schools on this reservation supported by the state. The most of the Indians resided on the southwest part of the reserve, towards the state line, which is more isolated than the rest from railroad towns, and this portion of them are making fair progress in civilization. The Society of Friends at Philadelphia have, during almost twenty-five years past, maintained, in connection with a large farm, a manual labor school adjoining this part of the reservation, at an annual expense of about \$3,000. This school has been under most excellent discipline and management, and has had an annual attendance of about thirty Indian children, mostly boys. In this school the Indian pupils have been boarded, clothed, and educated, and taught to work, the school being wholly supported through the benevolent and generous contributions of the Quakers at Philadelphia, who have always been the steadfast friends of the Senecas, protecting their interests in treaties with white people, and in all their public affairs.

The Senecas of Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations were incorporated by act of our legislature in 1845, under the name of the Seneca nation of Indians, with right to bring action in the courts of this state in all cases relating to their common property, by an attorney appointed by the governor. They have maintained during thirty-five years a republican form of government, with a president, council, treasurer, and clerk, elected annually by ballot, also a peace-maker's court on each reservation, having jurisdiction in actions between Indians, and authority to administer upon estates of deceased persons.

The Cornplanter reservation, on the Allegany river, in Warren county, Pennsylvania, three miles below the Allegany reserve, contains 761 acres of choice lands on the river bottoms. The commonwealth of Pennsyl-

vania granted this reservation in fee to the famous war chief and wisest counsellor of the Six Nations, *Gy-hant-wa-hin*, or Cornplanter, March 16, 1796, for his many valuable services to the white people, especially that most important one in preventing the Six Nations of New York in joining the confederacy of western Indians, in 1790 and 1791, in the war which terminated in the victory of General Wayne, in 1794. The state of Pennsylvania has erected a fine monument to the memory of Cornplanter on this reservation. His descendants and other Senecas, numbering ninety-three, reside on the reservation, which was allotted to them in 1871, by commissioners appointed by the state of Pennsylvania, with power to sell only to descendants of Cornplanter and other Seneca Indians.

These Cornplanter Indians are recognized by the Senecas of Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations as owning equal rights with them in those reservations, and share with them in the annuities payable under the treaties with the United States. They are a temperate, thrifty people, are good farmers, and are increasing yearly in population. The allotment of their lands in severalty and in fee has greatly contributed to their prosperity and civilization by affording a new incentive to industry.

The Tonawanda reservation, in the counties of Erie, Genesee, and Niagara, now contains seven thousand five hundred and fifty acres, the title of which is held in trust by the comptroller of this state "for the exclusive use, occupation, and enjoyment of the Senecas of the Tonawanda band," who reside upon the reservation, and number 630, being an increase of 29 since the state census taken in 1865. It is governed by chiefs. This reservation is very fertile and is well adapted to the raising of fruits, wheat, and other grains.

The Senecas of this band, with those of the Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Cornplanter reservations, receive an annuity of \$11,902.50 from the United States. The Tonawanda Senecas also receive in addition trust fund interest at five per cent. on \$86,950 annually as annuity, amounting to \$4,347.50, under their treaty with the United States dated November 5, 1857. This band receives larger money annuities than any of the Indians in New York, and owns in fee one of the most fertile reservations, yet its progress in civilization has been less rapid than the other tribes, owing, doubtless, in part, to the unsettled condition of the title of their reservation, and excitement, and almost constant litigation respecting same during twenty-one years immediately preceding the treaty of

November 5, 1857. The state supports three day schools on this reserve during thirty-two weeks in each year. This band has within a few years appropriated \$6,100 from their annuity interest for the establishment of a manual labor school on the reservation.

There are on the New York reservations about 493 Onondagas, of whom 317 reside on the Onondaga reservation in Onondaga county, 96 at Alleghany reserve, 42 at Cattaraugus, 32 at Tuscarora, and 2 at Tonawanda reservation. They receive in annuities from the state of New York \$2,430 and one hundred and fifty bushels of salt. Prior to 1793 the Onondaga reservation contained one hundred square miles, and covered the site of the city of Syracuse, and of several towns in that locality. By treaty of March 11, 1793, they sold to New York over three-fourths of their lands for \$638 and a perpetual annuity of \$410.

By treaty of July 28, 1795, they sold to this state the Salt lake at Syracuse and lands around it for an annuity of \$700 and 100 bushels of salt, payable annually and forever. By treaty of February 25, 1817, they sold to New York state 4,320 acres more of their reserve for \$1,000 paid down, and a perpetual annuity of \$430 and 50 bushels of salt, payable each year. On February 11, 1822, they sold to this state 800 acres more of their reserve for \$1,700 paid down. The present reservation contains 6,100 acres of fertile land, seven miles from the city of Syracuse, and is mostly leased to white men. This practice of leasing, instead of working their lands, has no doubt been a positive injury to them. They are governed by chiefs; their increase in population since 1865 has been 34 per cent.

The Methodists have a mission house on the reservation, and a resident missionary. The Episcopalians also have a commodious church building, in which religious services are held weekly, and a day school maintained by them. There is also another day school supported by the state. Both schools are well attended and are taught about eight months in the year. The chiefs, who are mostly pagans, now advise their people to send their children to school, and to work their lands, instead of leasing them to white people. The few who cultivate their own lands are generally temperate and thrifty as compared with those who lease them and live in idleness.

There are 250 Oneidas on the New York reservations, 66 with the Onondagas at Onondaga reserve, 11 at Tonawanda, and 173 on Oneida reservation in Oneida and Madison counties, an increase of 16 since the state census of 1845. They are mostly good farmers and prosperous.

They have been admitted to citizenship and have voted as citizens of the United States for several years. They have held their lands in severalty and in fee since 1843, each having the lawful right to sell his land to any white man by consent of a majority of the chiefs and a superintendent appointed by the state. But few sales have been made under the state law of 1843 giving such authority. They are mostly Methodists, and have a good church building on the reserve, in which Thomas Cornelius, a worthy and highly respected Oneida Indian, officiated as their minister for many years.

The Cayugas by treaty of February 25, 1789, sold to this state nearly all their extensive territory, reserving one hundred square miles around Cayuga lake, a few acres at Seneca river, and one square mile at Cayuga ferry, for \$2,125, and an annuity of \$500. On July 27, 1795, they sold their remaining lands to the state for \$1,800 paid down, and an annuity of \$1,800. They now own no lands in this state. One hundred and eighty-four Cayugas reside with the Senecas, nearly all on the Cattaraugus reservation, and receive about \$1,400 annuity from the state. A large portion of this tribe have moved from this state to the Indian territory. They also receive annuity goods from the United States under its treaty with the Six Nations of November 11, 1794, amounting in value to about ninety cents per capita, as do also the other six tribes in New York, except the St. Regis.

The St. Regis Indians are descendants of the Mohawks, of New York, whose language they speak. Under the influence of Catholic missionaries their ancestors migrated from the valley of the Mohawk river in 1677, and settled at *Cayh-ne-wa-ga*, near Montreal, in Canada. A colony from the latter place in 1760, migrated to St. Regis, on the St. Lawrence. They are named from Jean Francis Saint Regis, a French ecclesiastic, who died in 1690. They are mostly Roman Catholics. There are 1,750 St. Regis Indians, of whom 790 are denominated American Indians, and 950 British Indians. The American portion of the tribe are paid \$2,131.60 annuity by the state of New York for land sold; the British portion \$1,911 by Canada or Great Britain. Twenty-four thousand two hundred and fifty acres of their reservation are in Canada, including the township of Dundee and fourteen thousand and thirty acres adjoining the Canada line in Franklin county, in this state. The boundary line between the United States and Canada divides the Indian village of St. Regis, which contains about one hundred houses, mostly constructed of hewn logs. The St.

Regis Indians engaged in the war of the revolution, part with the British and part with the Americans. One of their number, Lewis Cook, held a colonel's commission. They were divided again into two parties, British and American, in the war of 1812. Such division still continues, the lines being kept distinct, following in hereditary descent by the father's side. With the other tribes in this state the line of hereditary descent and of tribal relation is by the mother's side. The increase of the American portion of this tribe since the state census of 1865 has been 325. The increase on the Canada side of the line has been quite as marked. The St. Regis Indians receive no annuities from the United States in either money or goods.

Prior to the formation of the confederacy of the Iroquois, or Five Nations of New York, and about the fifteenth century, a considerable number of the New York Indians migrated to the head waters of the Neuse and Tar rivers in North Carolina and took possession of the country under the name of Tuscaroras. Whether their visit to North Carolina was for the purpose of conquest or otherwise does not appear. Their numbers increased rapidly, and in 1708 they had fifteen towns and 1,200 warriors. Being a warlike tribe, jealous of their rights, they bravely resisted the efforts of the white people to drive them from their lands, and in the battle at their fort, *Na-ha-su-ke*, on the Neuse, against the combined forces of North and South Carolina, the Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbas, Yamansees and Ashley Indians, 300 of their warriors were slain and 800 taken prisoners and sold into slavery. Their power being broken by this severe defeat, they entered into a treaty of peace with the governor of North Carolina, who granted them lands on the Roanoke in the present county of Bertie, to which the remnant of the tribe removed. Owing to the continued encroachments of the white settlers upon their territory, they soon after migrated to the vicinity of Oneida lake, and finally united with their ancient kinsmen, the powerful confederacy of the Iroquois, the Mohawks, Cayugas, Oneidas, Onondagas and Senecas, then numbering 2,000 warriors, who had by their consummate strategy and prowess in war held alike the English and French at bay for two hundred years, and successfully carried their conquests against other tribes from the western bounds of New England to the Mississippi and from Hudson's bay to the Alleghanies and sources of the Delaware and Susquehanna.

The Tuscaroras removed from Oneida and camped in 1780 on the site of an old Indian fort and mound, on an elevated plateau of fertile lands,

seven miles from suspension bridge, overlooking lake Ontario, and almost the same distance therefrom in the present town of Lewiston, Niagara county. Here they planted corn and made a permanent settlement. The Senecas gave them at this place one square mile of land called the Seneca grant. This, it is said, was reserved in the treaty at Big Tree in 1797, but I do not find it mentioned in the treaty. The Holland company, grantees of Morris, however, recognized and confirmed the grant, and generously donated to them two other square miles adjoining.

The Tuscaroras about the year 1804 sent a delegation of chiefs to North Carolina, who sold their lands in that state for about \$15,000, and with \$13,722 realized from this sale they purchased of the Holland land company 4,329 acres adjoining their other lands, making their present tract 6,249 acres, which they own by absolute title in fee simple, which has been practically allotted to them in severalty, except their timber lands are held in common, and the chiefs take commendable care in protecting their timber from waste. The Tuscaroras on this reserve number 412, and 43 Onondagas reside with them, making the total Indian population of the reserve 455, being an increase in population since the state census of 1865 of 139. The Presbyterian board of missions commenced missionary labors among them in 1800, and the first mission house was erected, and school opened in 1805. As a tribe they early abandoned pagan customs and adopted Christianity and the better customs of civilized life. The chiefs erected the first frame school house on the reserve in 1831, and with the aid of their missionary, John Elliott, organized a temperance society of one hundred members. Circumstances have contributed to make the Tuscaroras more self-reliant and prosperous than most of the other tribes in New York. Unlike the Senecas, they own their lands in fee, and unlike all other tribes in this state, they have received no money annuities from any source. They are a temperate, industrious, and thrifty community, and in their farms, farm products, buildings, and agricultural implements compare favorably with their white neighbors.

There were on these nine reservations in 1883 thirty-one Indian schools, of which twenty-nine were day schools, and two boarding and manual labor schools. The average daily attendance of Indian pupils was eleven hundred and nine, as reported by the teachers. The state of New York in that year paid towards their support \$8,282, Pennsylvania \$310 for the school at Cornplanter, and the Quakers for support of their boarding school at Allegany reserve \$4,454. The annual expense paid for the sup-

port of these schools has been about the same as here stated for many years. In addition to these there has been during about ten years an industrial school at Cattaraugus reservation, under the sole charge of Mrs. Laura M. Wright, widow of the late Reverend Asher Wright, for the instruction of the Indian women of Cattaraugus reservation in needle work, and for the manufacture of clothing for their families and for destitute Indian children from cloth donated mostly by benevolent persons in Boston and New York city, and by other benevolent persons. The United States has appropriated a few hundred dollars for the same purpose. Mrs. Wright's services have been gratuitous from the first, who, now over seventy-five years of age, has been doing efficient missionary work for the Senecas during over half a century. It was mainly through her self-sacrificing and persevering efforts that this important industrial school for Indian women and orphan and destitute Indian children was established and has since been successfully maintained, and she is still apparently as active and untiring as ever in her good work. Her reward will come, if not in this life, in that better land, which in faith of Christian and pagan alike, lies beyond life's setting sun. No close student of the early history of this country can have failed to observe that the Six Nations of New York wielded a powerful, if not controlling influence, in shaping its destiny, especially in the long and bloody wars between France and England for supremacy upon this continent. By the treaty of Utrecht, concluded March 31, 1713, Great Britain obtained sovereignty as against France over nearly the entire country of the Six Nations. In the war terminating in that treaty the Six Nations, as allies of Great Britain, bore an important part. But the French, in addition to their Canadian possessions, still claimed dominion over all the vast country watered by the tributaries of the Mississippi, including the valleys of the Alleghany, Conewango, Cassidaga, and Chatauqua lake, and extending westward to the father of waters, which country they called Louisiana. Over sixty French forts bristled along the frontiers of this disputed territory. French emissaries and Jesuits were busy in seducing the Indians to unite their fortunes with the Gallic race against the Anglo-Saxon, giving the contest the semblance of a war between Protestant and Romanist, yet the Six Nations remained loyal to the English. A considerable number of their warriors fought under General Wolf, in scaling the heights of Abraham and capture of Quebec, although the larger part of them took no active part in the war. By the treaty of peace of 1763 France ceded Canada, with

all her possessions east of the Mississippi and north of Iberville river in the present state of Louisiana, to England. The British, in taking forcible possession of Grand Island, a valuable property of the Senecas, in the early part of the war of 1812, greatly incensed the Senecas, who immediately thereafter called a grand counsel of the Six Nations, at Buffalo Creek reservation, and issued the following declaration of war:

We, the chiefs and counsellors of the Six Nations of Indians, residing in the State of New York, do hereby proclaim to the war chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations that war is declared on our part against the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Therefore we do command and advise all the war chiefs to call forth immediately the warriors under them to protect our rights and liberties, which our brethren, the Americans, are now defending.

They also covenanted not to scalp or murder captives taken in war, which pledge, to their great credit be it said, they sacredly kept. Over 1,200 Indian warriors answered to this call, and were organized in ten or more companies, under their own captains, Farmers Brother, Blacksnake, Red Jacket, Little Billy, Pollard, Johnson, Cold, La Forte, Silver Heels, Strong, Halftown and Maj. Henry O'Bail, son of Cornplanter. They crossed the Niagara river with the American troops, and fought with great bravery at Lundy's Lane, under General Scott, and at Chippewa, and in other engagements on the frontier, as all accounts show. They fought not as soldiers of the United States, but in their own style of warfare, under their own captains, as allies of the United States. Their names, therefore, were not put on the muster rolls of our army, or upon its pay rolls, which fact afterwards occasioned difficulty in obtaining land warrants and pensions for their services. The confederacy of the Iroquois is one of the most remarkable in history, ancient or modern. Their government was partially hereditary, but practically democratic, the chiefs being chosen from the clans, as the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle and Tortoise, for wisdom in council and bravery in battle, and held their offices during good behavior. These clans permeated the entire people of the Six Nations, and linked and bound them together into one common brotherhood and compact nationality. Persons of the same clan were not all allowed to intermarry, because they could not bear a blood relationship to each other. The line of clanship descended from the side of the mother and not the father, the children taking the name of their mother. Hence Cornplanter's children took the name of O'Bail, being that of the mother.

Gov. DeWitt Clinton, of whom few had better means of observation, and who had studied closely the history of the Six Nations, says of them in a lecture before a historical society in 1811:

Their exterior relations, general interests and national affairs were conducted and superintended by a grand council, assembled annually at Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic, and eighty sachems were frequently convened at its national assembly. It took cognizance of the great questions of war and peace, of affairs of tributary nations and their negotiations with the French and English colonies; all their proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and were distinguished for order, decorum and solemnity. In eloquence, in dignity and in all the characteristics of personal policy, they surpassed an assemblage of feudal barons, and were not, perhaps, far inferior to the great Amphictyonic council of Greece. Whatever inferiority of force the Iroquois might have, they never neglected the use of stratagems; they employed all the crafty ideas of the Carthaginians. The cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, the power of the lion, were united in their conduct. They preferred to vanquish their enemy by taking him off his guard, by involving him in an ambushade, but when emergencies rendered it necessary for them to face him in the open field of battle, they exhibited a courage and contempt of death which have never been surpassed. Destruction followed their footsteps, and whole nations exterminated, or merged in their conquerors, declare the superiority and terror of their arms.

President Dwight says of them :

Their conquests, if we consider their numbers and their circumstances, were little inferior to Rome itself. In their harmony, in the unity of their operations, the energy of their character, the vastness, success and vigor of their enterprises, and the strength and sublimity of their eloquence, they might be fairly compared with the Greeks.

There is a public sentiment in this country that the Indian tribes are fast dying out. However this may be with other Indian tribes, it is not true as to the original Six Nations of New York. In the last hundred years thousands of them have migrated from this state to Canada and the west. Nine hundred and eleven of them are at the Bay of Quinte, in Canada; 3,215 are on Grand river just across on the south shore of lake Erie; 1,057 north of the Canada line, at St. Regis; 1,511 at Sault St. Louis; 688 Oneidas on the Thames, making a grand total in Canada of 7,382. Add to these 1,510 Oneidas at Green Bay, Wisconsin; 410 Senecas and Cayguas in the Indian Territory, and the 5,119 of the Six Nations in this state, and we have a grand total of 14,421—a larger number of the Six Nations of New York, and their descendants now living in this state, in Canada and the west, than can be shown by any authentic account of their numbers in the last hundred and fifty years. Their actual increase in this state since 1845, is 1,239, and the report of the interior department of the province of Canada, shows that the Iroquois in that province are not only increasing in population, but making very good progress in civilization, more so than the other numerous Indian tribes in Canada.

The statistics showing the present number of the Six Nations in Canada, are taken from the official reports of the interior department at Ottawa, and are reliable. Those of their number in this state and the west, are from our Indian bureau at Washington, and form the basis for annuity

payments. They show a vitality in this people, emerging from barbarism to civilization, that is, under all the adverse circumstances surrounding them, remarkable indeed, if not unprecedented.

DANIEL SHERMAN.

PITTSBURGH.

I.

THE PROCESSION OF EVENTS AND PERSONAGES AT THE GATEWAY OF THE WEST.

The site of Pittsburgh, where between the rocky barriers of great hills the tortuous Allegheny and Monongahela mingle their waters to form the broad Ohio, was the ancient gateway of the west, the entrance to nature's highway from the regions of the lakes to the vast unknown inland domain and the Mexican gulf. Through this gateway, and adown the mighty stream, during centuries which history cannot illumine, floated the canoe fleets of savage warriors. Later the river was rippled by the intrepid explorer's and the adventurous trader's frail craft, and then by the larger boats which caried troops of armed men to battle. For a hundred years the majestic current has borne onward the hosts of the army of peace which has occupied the valley, and has been laden with a mighty commerce to supply their needs.

Two great European powers during the first half of the last century sought absolute supremacy on this continent. Both appreciated the importance of the western gateway. Which should possess and guard it? The question was answered by the arbitrament of the sword, and a war which raged in the old world as well as the new was precipitated between France and England. In the heat of this struggle was evolved the initial impulse of the movement which eventually brought about American union, and singularly enough the first in the sequence of acts which led to England's triumph over the French was performed, as his first public service, by a young man whose culminating and crowning achievement in a glorious career was the wresting from England herself of the greatest province over which she ever held sovereignty, and leading its people into successful self-government. The point between the Allegheny and the Monongahela first designated by the greatest of Americans—"the purest character of all history"—as an advantageous locality for a civilized community and subse-

quently named in honor of one of the wisest of eighteenth century Britons, to whom the city, built upon it, is his noblest and most enduring monument, is as historic ground as any in the land equally remote from the Atlantic coast. Whether considered in the light of momentous and far reaching influences involving the destinies of a continent and a race, or merely as local occurrences, the early military movements on the site of Pittsburgh and in the region adjacent form an interesting chapter of history. The procession of personages and events has been a remarkable one, and has moved on with stately march through the long years. Attention is invited only to the greater characters and more prominent scenes in the pageant.

George Washington stands where the rivers of the north and south merge the waters of New York and Virginia in one great tide, flowing onward through a vast wilderness to the sea. He is an adjutant of the Virginia militia, twenty-two years of age, tall and slender of figure, but well-knit, erect and strong. Notwithstanding his youth he has come on a mission of the utmost importance, the trusted agent of a high official of the colonial government, for the year is 1753. He arrived on the twenty-fourth of November, and he entered in his journal under that date:

As I got down before the canoe I spent some time in viewing the river and land between the fork, which I think is extremely well situated for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water, and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile across, and run here at very nearly right angles.

Prior to this time the French had displayed a renewed aggressiveness in their plans for occupying the Ohio valley. Governor Spotswood of Virginia, as early as 1716, having become alarmed by the extent of their claims, sought to push the Virginia settlements westward for the purpose of breaking the chain of communication between the French possessions in Canada and Louisiana, and Governor Keith of Pennsylvania, at almost as early a period, had taken steps tending toward the same result, but the efforts of both of these far-seeing colonial statesmen and of their supporters were failures so far, at least, as any immediate achievement was concerned. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, peace was established between Great Britain and France, but their movements toward strengthening themselves upon the Ohio were not arrested. In 1748 the colonial "Ohio land company" was formed in Virginia, and an ambitious project for colonization was inaugurated by the sending of Christopher Gist, in 1750, to explore the region along the Ohio. It was the intention of this com-

pany to build a fort and found a settlement at the mouth of Chartiers creek on the Ohio, about two miles below "the Forks" on the site of Pittsburgh, but nothing was accomplished in that matter because of circumstances unforeseen. The encroachment of the French upon what was regarded as British territory had aroused the home government, and by a man-of-war, which arrived in Virginia in October, 1753, came letters from the secretary of state, the earl of Holderness, for all of the provincial governors. It was in consequence of one of these letters that Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, appointed Washington to proceed to the nearest French commandant on the Ohio and to ascertain what had been accomplished and what intended by them, their numbers, the location of their forts and various other details. It was while on his journey to accomplish this delicate and difficult mission, for which he was chosen because of the governor's confidence in his "ability, conduct and fidelity," that Washington visited "the forks" and made the entry in his diary which has been quoted. He went to Le Bœuf and to Fort Machault at Venango, and received very unsatisfactory answers to his inquiries. "They (the officers) told me," he writes, "that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio and by G—d they would do it; for that although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertakings of theirs."

The young soldier found that the French were actually advancing a force of men to prevent the settlement of the Ohio region, and upon his return his journal was printed by Governor Dinwiddie to arouse the people, and copied into nearly all the newspapers of the colonies, while in London it was published under the auspices of the government, and regarded a document of much importance, because it unfolded the views of the French, and afforded the first positive official proof of their hostile acts in the disputed territory. In Virginia arrangements were immediately made to send troops to the locality which Washington had designated as a good one for a fort. The first company ready to march was Captain William Trent's. On the seventeenth of February, 1754, the captain arrived at "the forks" to meet Christopher Gist and others, and the soldiers were supposed to be only a few days' march behind him. They arrived in due season, and began the erection of a little fort, the first work of human hands on the ground now covered by populous, bustling Pittsburgh. The work was carried on under Ensign Ward, Captain Trent retiring to Cumberland, and

Lieutenant Fraser passing most of his time at his home on Turtle creek. But not long was the little band of soldiers to labor in hewing timber and erecting defenses.

Another personage and an important one, attended by all the pomp and power that could in those days be marshaled in this wild region, suddenly appears upon the scene, and he is no other than Contrecoeur. A strange spectacle was presented on the sixteenth of April, 1754, when a force of a thousand men, French and Indians, came down the Allegheny with sixty batteaux, three hundred canoes and eighteen pieces of cannon*. Heretofore this stream had borne only the canoes of Indian warriors and those of small trading and hunting parties. But now it must have been dotted as far as the eye could reach with craft large and small, gleaming with arms, bright with uniforms and bedecked with banners bearing the lilies of France. Contrecoeur came prepared to overpower any force which it was probable he might meet, if he could not obtain a ready and peaceful surrender. He peremptorily demanded that the unfinished work should be relinquished, his summons, presented by Chevalier Le Mercier, bearing the legend, "By order of Monsieur Contrecoeur, captain of one of the companies of the detachment of French marines, commander-in-chief of his most Christian majesty's troops now on the Beautiful River, to the commander of those of the king of Great Britain at the mouth of the river Monongahela." The document set forth the exceeding great surprise of the French commander at seeing an attempt at English settlement upon the lands of his king, which he declared contrary to the treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and said that he "did not know to whom to attribute such an usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands situated along the Beautiful River belong to his most Christian majesty." He imperiously demanded an immediate and precise answer. Ensign Ward went to him at his camp and endeavored to temporize, but it was of no avail. Contrecoeur insisted that the works should be surrendered at once, and declared that otherwise he would take possession by force. An attempt to hold an unfinished stockade with a paltry force of about forty men against an army of a thousand with several cannon was, of course, out of the question. Capitulation followed. Thus Ward, like many a soldier of greater renown and many a fighter in the weaponless battles of life, in a situation where

*Some writers claim these numbers to be exaggerations, but they were so stated by Ward in his sworn report. Washington had previously reported that there had been fifteen hundred French in the territory, and that all but six or seven hundred had been withdrawn. He found at LeBoeuf fifty birch bark and one hundred and seventy pine canoes, "besides many others blocked out and ready to be made."

bravery was powerless, was forced to yield to inexorable circumstances. Yet the bloodless victory won by Contrecoeur on that day in the almost unknown inland forest of America, was the first in a sequence of events which stripped France of her fairest possessions in the new world—Nova Scotia, Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi, except the Isle of Orleans—the commencement of the war which was terminated by the treaty of Paris.

The French commandant at once proceeded to complete the fortification of which he had taken possession and named it Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of Canada, the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville.

Ensign Ward, pushing toward the seat of government, on the twenty-second of April, found Washington and three companies of soldiers at Will's creek, Maryland, where Cumberland now stands. On hearing the news of the surrender of "the forks," the young man, then receiving the discipline which he was to need in the revolution, immediately sent messengers to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, urging that reinforcements be sent into the field. He determined to advance, if possible, to Redstone (now Brownsville), on the Monongahela, and there erect a fortification. Active operations between his forces and the French ensued in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, which it would prolong this narrative too greatly to recite. Suffice it to say that he received valuable aid from Tanacharison, the Half-king of the Six Nations, and some of his followers, and fought a battle with a small French force, in which Jumonville* the commandant, and ten of his men were killed and twenty-two taken prisoners. Whatever advantage was gained by his victory was offset by the news received on the tenth of June that the French fort at "the forks" was completed; that the force there had been increased and the Shawnees had agreed to take up the hatchet against the English. Apprehending that a large force would be sent against him, he employed his troops in perfecting the work of defense he had begun at Great Meadows and named it Fort Necessity. Here, on the third of July, in a heavy rain, occurred an all day fight in which the French had the advantage of a superior number of men, and at the conclusion of which Washington capitulated, granting hostages for the prisoners he had taken at the engagement with Jumonville, and being permitted to retire with his garrison without molestation. It was

*The killing of Jumonville has been employed by many historians, chiefly French, as an incident to smirch the bright escutcheon of Washington's character, it being alleged that it was of the nature of a murder rather than a casualty of war. Sparks has ably refuted this charge and thoroughly revealed the flimsiness of the evidence adduced to support it.

also agreed that the capitulating party should not within a year build any forts west of the mountains.

A lull now ensued in the contest of the nations for dominion in the west and a cessation therefore in the stirring events at "the forks," but it was the calm that precedes the tempest.

The two persons given as hostages by Washington were Captain Robert Stobo, a Scotchman, and Vanbraam, a Dutchman. The former was a man of remarkable energy, bravery and fidelity, and subsequently passed through many strange vicissitudes. He was known to David Hume, the great English historian, who, thirteen years after the time of the incidents here mentioned, said of him in a letter to Smollet, "he has surely had the most extraordinary adventures in the world." This Stobo, who was one of the first English prisoners incarcerated in Fort Duquesne, gave valuable information to the governor of Virginia concerning the condition of affairs at the French post, and sent him a plan of the fort. Some idea of his character is conveyed by a few phrases from one of his surreptitious letters to Dinwiddie from his prison. "When we engaged to serve the country," says he, "it was expected we were to do it with our lives.

* * * Consider the good of the expedition without the least regard to us. For my part, I would die a thousand deaths to have the pleasure of possessing this fort but one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them. Strike this fall as soon as possible. Make the Indians ours. Prevent intelligence. Get the best and 'tis done." This and much more in the same unselfish spirit, together with accurate data concerning the French force, was sent by the "leal Scot" in the form of letters to the English officers by a friendly Indian, the greatest secrecy being observed.*

Now, before passing to other events of the French and English war at this important locality, let us take a glance at Contrecoeur's fort on the point and the condition of affairs within its walls. One who was a prisoner there for some time has left his testimony that it was "four square," had bastions at each corner, and was about fifty yards in length. About half the fort was made of square logs, and the other half, next to the water,

*At the time of Braddock's defeat copies of the letters above alluded to, and the map of Fort Duquesne fell into the hands of the French, and Captain Stobo's authorship being revealed he was immediately ordered into close confinement, and was subsequently sentenced to be executed, but fortunately made his escape. The Virginia house of burgesses officially recognized and thanked him for his services.

†John McKinney, whose statement was published in Philadelphia in 1756.

was stockaded; all around intrenchments were thrown up, which consisted of palings driven into the ground near to each other and wattled together with poles like basket work, against which earth was thrown up in a gradual ascent, the steeper part being on the inner side and having three steps on which the men could go up to fire at an enemy. There were two gates, one on the land and the other upon the water side, where the magazine was built. At the land gate was a drawbridge which was raised at night by means of levers and chains, and underneath was a deep pit containing water. The magazine was almost entirely under ground, and made of large logs covered with four feet of clay. The bastions were filled with earth about eight feet high. In each were four cannon, three and four pounders. The height of the walls was about twelve feet. They were pierced with loopholes, made so that muskets might be fired through them slanting toward the ground. There were no pickets or palings on top of the walls to defend them against scaling, and there was no defence against bombs. About thirty yards from the fort, outside of the entrenchments and picketing, was a structure which contained a great quantity of tools. There were also some huts for the soldiers (for usually only a small part of the force lived within the walls with the officers) and twenty or thirty Indian wigwams. The ground was cleared for a considerable distance from the walls, and the stumps cut off short, and "a little without musket shot was a thick wood of some bigness, full of large timber." Such was Fort Duquesne, both before and after the memorable defeat of Braddock in its vicinity. It would now be looked upon with contempt by an attacking force, but was considered over a century and a quarter ago formidable fortress, although it might even then have been bombarded from the lofty eminence on the opposite side of the Monongahela. The garrison of the fort was supplied in part with munitions of war and provisions, by batteaux which were rowed up the Mississippi and the Ohio, making their journeys in three months' time under favorable conditions, and in part by boats sent down the Allegheny. The French force usually consisted of about two hundred and fifty soldiers and sometimes as many as five hundred Indians, but the number of the latter was variable.

Far away beyond the mountains and the wilderness, by the Atlantic seaboard, during the early months of 1755 preparations were making for sending a powerful expedition against this stronghold of the French. In fact plans were entered upon in England for sweeping the French from the Ohio region as soon as the news of the affair at the Meadows was received.

General Braddock, sent out by the British government, landed in Virginia on the twentieth of February, 1755, with two regiments of the regular army from Ireland, each consisting of five hundred men. Making his headquarters at Alexandria, he organized a supplemental force through the assistance of the colonial governments, and with more than two thousand men proceeded to Will's creek, arriving about the middle of May, after a march of four weeks. This expedition was a notable one, for, engaged in it and the deplorable defeat with which it met, were many characters who figured prominently more than a score of years afterwards in the revolution. Among them were General Gage, who commanded the British at Bunker Hill; Gates, the hero of Ticonderoga; Morgan, who won fame at the Cowpens; also Mercer, and Stephens, and Neville, and the great commander, Washington himself. At Will's creek the army was detained by lack of transportation facilities, which were finally supplied by Benjamin Franklin. A detailed account of the march would prove interesting, but as this article is designedly limited to a recital of the occurrences at and near the site of Pittsburgh it is omitted. The army was separated into two divisions, one of twelve hundred men, besides officers, under Braddock, taking the advance, while the other, under Colonel Dunbar, followed by slower marches. On the eighth of July the general's division arrived at the confluence of the Youghioghany and Monongahela rivers, all in excellent health and high spirits, sanguine in the conviction that in a few hours they should win a victory and triumphantly enter the French fortress.

We turn for a moment from the hopeful British regulars and colonial troops, dreaming of victory in their camp near the Monongahela, to discover the feeling pervading the garrison of Fort Duquesne. A scene of hopelessness, of fear which verged upon panic, was manifested among the followers of Contrecoeur, and shared by nearly all the officers. From the time Braddock passed Will's creek until he reached the Monongahela, his army was constantly watched by French and Indian scouts, who reported its progress at the fort and the route pursued. An English prisoner* at Fort Duquesne, inquiring if any news had been received as to Braddock's movements, was told that "their scouts saw him every day from the mountains—that he was advancing in close columns through the woods" (indicated by placing a number of red sticks parallel to each other and pressed

*James Smith, captured by the Indians while engaged, in the spring of 1755, with three hundred men in cutting a road through the forest for Braddock's army. He was afterwards a member of the Kentucky legislature.

closely together) "The English," said another, "are in numbers like the trees of the forest" Their forces were variously reported by the Indians as three, four and five thousand—exaggerated in all cases. The fort was in no condition to withstand a siege, and the garrison far smaller than it should be to make a promising attack upon the English in the field. A new commandant was in charge, however, Captain Beaujeu—Daniel Hyacinth Mary Liénard de Beaujeu—and to him belongs the credit of planning the attack, and leading what seemed to be a forlorn hope to one of the most remarkable victories in the history of arms.*

He could not prevail upon himself to give up Fort Duquesne without a struggle to save it, even though surrounded by dejected officers and men. He decided boldly to meet the British in their advance, and his courage seems to have been inspiring to the garrison and even the Indians, of whom a large throng representing more than twenty-five tribes had gathered at the post. The eighth of July was spent in preparing to take the field, but when Beaujeu visited the Indian camp the chiefs said: "What, father, do you wish to die and sacrifice us? The English are more than four thousand men, and we only eight hundred, and you wish to go and attack them. You see at once that you have no sense. We must have till to-morrow to decide." At daybreak on the fateful ninth of July, the French officers and soldiers gathered in the little Catholic "chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River" and the commandant knelt in confession before the Recollect Father Denys Baron, chaplain of the post, and afterwards received the holy communion at his hands. Then the little party marched out, numbering seventy-two regulars and one hundred and forty-six Canadians. They halted at the wigwams, but in answer to the commandant's question the chiefs replied. "We cannot march." Beaujeu said: "I am determined to go and meet the enemy. Will you let your father go alone? I am sure to beat them."

*Beaujeu had a short time previous to this period been ordered by the Marquis Duquesne to relieve Contrecoeur, but the latter had at the same time been requested to remain at the fort until after the apprehended operation against it had culminated. He did so, and to him the honor of defeating Braddock is usually ascribed, instead of to Beaujeu, who fell upon the field he won. His period of command was brief, but there now exists no ground for doubt that it was absolute while it lasted. In the 'Register of the Baptisms and Interments' kept at the fort (recently translated and published by Reverend A. A. Lambing) he is entitled "commander of Fort Duquesne and of the army." The official (French) report of Braddock's defeat gives prominence to Contrecoeur, and nearly all historians, even the French, neglect the true hero. Sparks, in his 'Life of Washington,' places the laurels upon the proper brow, but it has remained for John Gilmeary Shea, in a recent publication, to marshal the proofs of the martyr commandant's supremacy in the conception and execution of the brave act which won the greatest of French victories in America.

Then he moved on as if he knew that he had won them, and, led by Pontiac and the Huron Athanase of Lorette, six hundred savage warriors followed. During the whole forenoon the two armies were toiling slowly toward each other and the point where they were to clash in conflict.

Braddock's army, which we last saw encamped upon the Monongahela, on the eve of the day of battle, eager for the impending fight, was in readiness for the advance early on the morning of the ninth, and, fording the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogheny, marched forward in beautiful order along the southern banks of the Monongahela. Washington said in after life, more than once, that "the most beautiful spectacle he ever beheld was the beautiful display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was beautifully dressed in full uniform; the soldiers were arranged in columns, and marched in exact order; the sun gleamed from their burnished arms; the river flowed tranquilly on the right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspirited with cheering hopes and confident expectations." * Yet that proud and hopeful body of men, marching so bravely forth in the morning, was destined, before night, to meet with most ignominious defeat, to be completely shattered and put to flight, and to lose in killed and wounded one-half its number.

At noon they reached the second crossing place, about ten miles from Fort Duquesne. They halted for a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. They found themselves upon a low and level plain extending back nearly half a mile to a gentle ascent, which gradually grew steeper and terminated in a lofty height. Across this plain and up the side hill led the road to the French fort. At one o'clock all had crossed the river, and the advanced parties had begun the ascent of the hill. They were marching in good order and wholly unconscious of danger, when suddenly the comparative quiet was broken by a volley of musketry, and a heavy fire was poured in upon their front, instantly followed by another, directed with deadly effect against their right flank. They fired in return, but at random and clearly without effect. Their invisible foe delivered a continuous, rapid and most deadly discharge, and the British, seized with consternation, gave way in a wild rout, and fell back upon the artillery and other columns which the general had endeavored to advance to their support. The utmost confusion followed. Beaujeu had formed an ambuscade, his dusky allies having been concealed in two ra-

* Sparks' 'Life of Washington.'

vines or water runs which crossed the hillside in diverging directions, and between which the fated troops passed. After the first raking volleys from the hidden Indians, the little band of French regulars, led by their brave commander, who bounded forward rifle in hand, waving his hat and cheering them on, charged the already demoralized front. Gage formed his men and returned the French fire again and again. At the third volley Beaujeu fell dead, pierced through the forehead with a musket ball. His men were not disheartened, but fought with renewed fury under the command of Dumas. The Indians maintained their usual tactics, and fought from the ravines and from behind trees and logs, making only occasional quick dashes from their places of concealment to secure the scalps of those who had fallen before their guns. The woods resounded with their hideous yell, which struck terror to the hearts of the British regulars, unaccustomed to savage warfare, and Washington and his provincials endeavored in vain to meet them with their own methods. After a short but severe contest the soldiers, panic-stricken, resisted all efforts of their officers to restore order, and thronged in a tumultuous and precipitate flight to and through the river they had a few hours before forded with the most ardent anticipations of victory. The rout was complete; the battle lost; the field left covered with the dead and dying. Then followed the furious and horrible deeds of the savages who endeavored to glut their whetted appetites for carnage by killing the wounded and mutilating the dead. They were only prevented from utterly annihilating the British force by following the remnant in its flight by their desire to pillage and commit atrocities upon the field. Braddock had received his death wound, and his life ebbed away on the night of the thirteenth of July, near the site of Fort Necessity, where the soldiers who had borne him on their melancholy retreat had encamped for rest. Five horses had been shot under him upon the field where he bravely fought. Two had been shot under Colonel Washington, and his clothes shot through in numerous places, his escape from death being so marvelous that it is not strange the Indians supposed him under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot, and Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair were wounded. The other field officers wounded were Lieutenant-colonel Gage, Colonel Orme, Major Sparks and Brigade-major Halket. Ten captains were killed and five wounded; fifteen lieutenants killed and twenty-two wounded. The whole number of officers engaged was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded.

Of the privates the enormous number of seven hundred and fourteen were killed and wounded. Of these at least one-half were supposed to be killed.* In bloodiness and sweeping slaughter this battle is approached only by St. Clair's defeat in Ohio, and exceeded by no engagement on American soil save those of the war for the Union. No battle of the revolution was so sanguinary. The losses of the French were insignificant in comparison with this colossal stroke of death in the English ranks. Three of their officers were killed and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians were killed and as many or a few more wounded.

At the little fort on the point all was bustle and excitement and triumphant rejoicing when the force returned after its bloody work, followed by a yelling, frantic throng of savages, and even the news of the commander's death and the killing of a few of his comrades did not lessen the exultation, for the French had met the greatest British force ever advanced against them in America—had destroyed one-half and put the other to flight, and captured all of its artillery, ammunition, provisions and baggage.

The scene at Fort Duquesne after Braddock's defeat is graphically described by an English prisoner † who with heavy heart beheld it:

About dusk the party returned to the fort, driving before them twelve British regulars, stripped naked and with their faces painted black—an evidence that the unhappy wretches were devoted to death. Next came the Indians, displaying their bloody scalps, of which they had great numbers, and dressed in the scarlet coats, sashes and military hats of the officers and soldiers. Behind all came a train of baggage horses laden with piles of scalps, canteens, and all the accoutrements of British soldiers. The savages appeared frantic with joy, . . . dancing, yelling, brandishing their red tomahawks, and waving their scalps in the air, while the great guns of the fort replied to the incessant discharge of the rifles without. . . . The most melancholy spectacle was the band of prisoners. They appeared dejected and anxious.

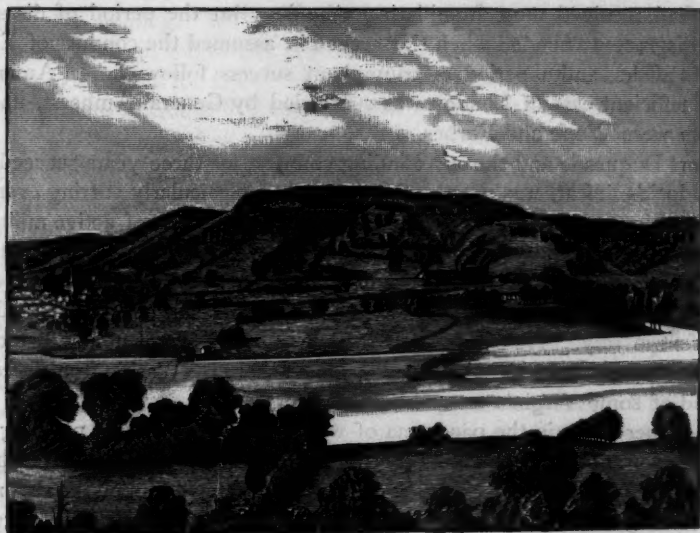
And well they might, for they had been spared death upon the battlefield only to meet it in more horrible form here. The eye witness continues:

The yells of delight and congratulation were scarcely over when those of vengeance began. The devoted prisoners . . . were led out from the fort to the banks of the Allegheny, and, to the eternal disgrace of the French commandant, were there burned to death with the most awful tortures. . . . One of the prisoners was tied to a stake with his hands raised above his head, stripped naked and surrounded by Indians. They would touch him with red-hot irons, and stick his body full of pine splinters and set them on fire—drowning the shrieks of the victim in the yells of delight with which they danced around him. His companions in the meantime stood in a group near the stake, and had a foretaste of what was in reserve for each one of them. As fast as one prisoner died under his tortures another filled his place, until the whole perished. All this took place so near the fort that every scream of the victims must have rung in the ears of the French commandant.

*These estimates are from Spark's 'Life of Washington.' Other authors give somewhat different figures.

†James Smith.

Now the benison of peace rests on the landscape of Braddock's field and the beauties of civilization seem especially emphasized by the location of a thriving village and huge steel works upon the old battle ground, while a vast depot bears the name and stands upon the ground occupied by Fort Duquesne, near which the twelve prisoners were burned alive and many other dark deeds perpetrated.



BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY.

Contreccœur was responsible for the atrocity of the night of July 9, 1755. A scene of solemn sadness was witnessed at the fort three days after the battle, when the body of Beaujeu was committed to the earth.* M. Dumas succeeded to the command of the post as early as September 18, 1755,

*The register of Fort Duquesne contains the following entry: "Burial of M. De Beaujeux, commandant of Fort Duquesne. The year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, the ninth of July, was killed in the battle given to the English, and the same day as above M. Lienard Daniel, Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, captain in the infantry, commandant at Fort Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His body was interred on the twelfth of the same month in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River, and that with the ordinary ceremonies by us, Recollect priest, the undersigned king's chaplain in said fort. In testimony whereof we have signed :

FR. DENYS BARON, P. R., Chaplain."

and he gave place to M. de Lingeris some time prior to the close of the following year.

The effects of Braddock's defeat were far reaching and appalling to England. On the Ohio, her power and trade were extinct, while the frontier was laid open to the ravages of the Indians, which extended into settlements so far removed from the scenes of former horrors that they had been considered perfectly secure. Throughout the world British prestige had received most humiliating rebuffs. But the period of disaster and disgrace was ended when the great Pitt assumed the conduct of England's affairs, and a period of triumphant success followed. In America the inefficient earl of London was succeeded by General Amherst, under whom were Wolfe and Forbes.

Fort Duquesne and the surrounding country, for three years succeeding Braddock's defeat, was not the theatre for any particularly stirring events, but in the autumn of 1758 it again became the scene of active military operations. Among the first successes of the British army was the capture of this post, so long held by the French as the key of the western and southwestern country. General John Forbes began his march against the fort in July. He overtook Colonel Boquet at Raystown, now Bedford, Pennsylvania, and was subsequently joined there by Washington, in command of some Virginia troops.

Another scene in the panorama of war which preceded the planting of civilization on the head waters of the Ohio, occurred on the fourteenth of September, 1758, and this, the first conflict that took place upon the area now covered by the city, gave to the locality the name of Grant's hill. A portion of Forbes' force under Major Grant appeared upon the brow of the hill overlooking, and about a quarter of a mile from, the fort, at about eleven o'clock on the night of the thirteenth. On the following morning four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the fort, towards which Captain M'Donald's company of Scotch regulars advanced with music, playing

The Highlander, with kilt and naked knee,
Sent down his challenge to the sleeping fort,
And waked them with his pipe and reveille.

This action was, in effect, exactly like plunging a pebble into a hornet's nest. The garrison (which must have consisted of about four hundred men, besides a large force of Indians, instead of two hundred all told, as Grant had reason to believe) swarmed through the gates in great numbers, flanked the English on both sides, made also a strong centre of attack, and

routed the English force. The provincials fought from sheltered positions, as at Braddock's field, but the Highlanders stood exposed to the fire without cover, and fell in great numbers before they finally gave way and fled. Major Grant was captured at what is now the corner of Wood street and Third avenue, where the St. Charles hotel stands.

Next in our procession of events comes Forbes' entrance of Fort Duquesne, on November 25, 1758. He had now in the field an army of six thousand men, and the French, who had so long proudly held the point, feared his coming. On the evening of the twenty-fourth, encamped twelve miles from the fort, he received news that the commandant was preparing to abandon it. On the morning of the next day the army advanced—the provincial troops in front, followed by a body of Highlanders. Arriving near the fort, they entered an Indian race-path, upon each side of which stakes were driven in the earth. Upon each of these was impaled the ghastly, gory head of a Highlander who had been killed or taken prisoner at Grant's defeat. The kilts taken from the dead were also fastened to these poles. The provincials came first upon this terrible spectacle, but they marched by without any manifestation of their wrath. As soon, however, as the Highlanders came in sight of the remains of their countrymen, a murmur was heard in their ranks, which rapidly swelled into a savage roar, expressing their exasperation and horror at the barbarous outrages upon the persons of their former comrades. Their madness was heightened, too, by the insult conveyed by the display of the kilts, for they were well aware that the Indians had long before nicknamed them the "petticoat warriors." With wrath unbounded they flung aside their muskets, and, with broadswords drawn, rushed swiftly by the provincials, swearing vengeance upon the French troops who had permitted such outrages.* This quickened the march of the whole army, but they had not advanced far when they found the fort in flames, and saw the last boatloads of the flying and terrified French passing down the Ohio, safe beyond musket range.

The French commandant had doubtless been informed by Indian scouts of the strength of the enemy, and, knowing that with a garrison of only four hundred men defense was impossible, he had ordered the abandonment and firing of the fort. A portion of the force went down the Ohio to the Illinois country, and a portion, about one hundred, by land to Presque Isle, and not far from two hundred, led by De Lingeris, went up the Alle-

* From a narrative in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, based upon an account of Captain Craighhead.

gheny to Fort Machault, at Venango. Thus it came about that the dragon of St. George took the place of the lilies of France upon the Ohio, destined to be supplanted only by the flag of the American republic. The French, seeing that their route to the Mississippi beyond the Ohio was cut off by the capture of Fort Duquesne, were not slow in endeavoring to reestablish themselves at this commanding situation, and in June, 1759, collected a force of seven hundred soldiers and a thousand Indians for that purpose, from which they were only diverted by the information that Sir William Johnson was marching against Fort Niagara, the capture of which would effectually close their northern road to the west.

It was too late in the season to construct a proper fort, and as the army was already suffering from a partial famine, it was determined to leave only a small force on the captured ground to occupy a temporary fortification. As soon as this was built General Forbes returned to Philadelphia,* leaving Colonel Hugh Mercer in command of it, with two hundred men. The fortification was a very small affair and stood upon the bank of the Monongahela, at the south end of West street.† It was finished about the first of January, 1759, for Mercer, in a letter, dated the eighth, says:

This garrison now consists of two hundred and eighty men and is capable of some defence, though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe.

The soldiers in this paltry defence, now called Fort Pitt, three hundred miles from any aid, were panic-stricken by the news that the French, in the summer of 1759, were preparing to send a great force against them; and one of their number, John Ormsley, said: "I must own I made my sincere application to the Almighty to pardon my sins and extricate us from this deplorable dilemma." The apprehended descent was not made, for reasons that have been shown, but the British took steps to make their occupation secure.

General John Stanwix appears upon the ground where we have already seen a long succession of celebrated soldiers. Arriving at the post in midsummer, 1759, he superseded Mercer as commander, and became chief engineer in the work of constructing an adequate defence, the Fort Pitt famous in history. A letter dated September 24, says:

It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification, such a one as will, to latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio. There is no need to

*Forbes arrived in Philadelphia January 17, 1759, and was greeted by booming cannon and pealing bells. On the eleventh of the following March, this resolute soldier, who had long been an invalid, died, in the above city, and on the fourteenth his remains were interred in the chancel of Christ church.

†Craig's 'History of Pittsburgh.'

enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops in executing the important task; the fort will soon be a lasting monument of both.*

This work was a five sided enclosure. Washington, writing of it in 1770, implied that the sides were equal and the angles regular, which was an error, the form being an irregular pentagon. Washington also noted that "two sides . . . near the land are of brick, the others stockade." A further description is furnished by Neville B. Craig.† He writes:

The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up, so as to enclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides, facing the country, this rampart was supported by what military men call a revetment—a brickwork, nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy not easily overcome. On the other three sides the earth in the rampart had no support, and, of course, it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy—one which could readily be ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch, which would, of course, be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage. In summer, however, when the river was low, the ditch was dry and perfectly smooth, so that the officers and men had a ball alley in the ditch and against the revetments. This ditch extended from the salient angle of the north bastion . . . down to the Allegheny. . . . Another part of the ditch extended to the Monongahela.

From this time until 1763 not many events of note varied the monotony of garrison life at Fort Pitt, and it is probable that the officers and soldiers had ample leisure for the innocent pastime of bowling in the dry moat, and indulging in other sports. A letter dated March 21, 1760, says:

The works are now quite perfected, according to the plan, from the Ohio (Allegheny) to the Monongahela, and eighteen pieces of artillery mounted on the batteries that cover the isthmus; and casemates, barracks and store-houses are also completed for a garrison of one thousand men and officers, so that it may now be asserted, with very great truth, that the British dominion is established on the Ohio.

The fort cost the British government about £60,000 sterling. The successes of the English arms, unlike those of the French, were followed closely by the march of civilization. The Indians became the friends of General Stanwix, and began to trade with the English agents who gathered at the posts, while the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, for the first time in many years, enjoyed peaceful possession of their lands.

When General Stanwix set out for Philadelphia on the twenty-first of March, 1760, he was accompanied not only by an escort of his own soldiers, but by thirty-five chiefs of the Ohio Indians. He left Major Tullikins in command of Fort Pitt with a garrison of seven hundred men.

During the prosecution of the war against the French, the fort was an

*New American Magazine, printed at Woodbridge, N. J., in November, 1759.

†In his valuable early periodical, 'The Olden Time,' Vol. I., p. 196.

important base of operations, but it was not again the scene of actual warfare until 1763, when Pontiac's giant conspiracy (sometime, after a distinguished Seneca chief, called Guyasutha's war) aroused the Indians into fiercest hostility. Then Fort Pitt was vigorously assailed and determinedly besieged. Captain Ecuyer, who was now in command, with a small force (though reinforced by traders who had taken refuge there) and the fort in poor condition to withstand a siege, the ramparts having been injured by floods, made a stubborn defence. The Indians surrounded the fort and cut off all communication. The situation was truly alarming, for the Indians, with almost incredible boldness, posted themselves under the banks of both rivers, and from these secure places continued day after day and night after night to pour upon the fort an incessant storm of musketry and fire-arrows, hoping by thus harassing the garrison, or by fire or famine, to carry their point. Colonel Henry Bouquet, whom we have already once seen at this point, was sent with a force of men to the relief of the imperiled Fort Pitt. His troops assembled at Carlisle, reached Bushy run, about twenty-two miles from Pittsburgh, on August 5, 1763, and there, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, as they were about to encamp, greatly fatigued, they were suddenly attacked by nearly four hundred Indians. The fight ended only with the coming of darkness, and was resumed the next day, when Colonel Bouquet, by a piece of brilliant strategy, ensnared the savages, wily as they were, defeating and dispersing them with great loss. The Indians, terrorized by the blow Bouquet had struck, abandoned the siege of the fort.

It was probably soon after the battle of Bushy run that Bouquet built the "redoubt,"* which remains as the sole monument of the early military history of Pittsburgh. During the same year (1764) that Bouquet's redoubt was built, as the last notable measure taken in perfecting the place for military defence, was also planted the embryo of the city, Col. John Campbell laying out that part of Pittsburgh bounded by Water, Second, Ferry and Market streets.

From this time forward the fort was the scene of Indian treaties rather

*This is a two-story brick building, about sixteen feet square, standing on the east side of Point alley between Penn avenue and Duquesne way. The first story is now half buried by the accumulated fillings of earth around it. The loopholes for muskets are still to be seen in the well preserved timbers under the eaves. There was originally in the wall a stone tablet bearing the inscription, "Col. Bouquet, A. D. 1764;" but it was removed a few years ago and placed in the wall of the municipal building. Neville B. Craig, who, in the 'Olden Time' and his 'History of Pittsburgh,' has saved from oblivion a great mass of information concerning the early history of the city, was born in this redoubt.

than battles, and the point of departure for various expeditions against the tribes which remained hostile. The first of these was Bouquet's memorable march against the Ohio Indians, in the autumn of 1764.

The growth of the incipient town was slow, and the early allusions to it are far from being complimentary or prophetic of the greatness which it has attained. The Reverend Charles Beatty, who was appointed by the synod of New York and Philadelphia to visit the frontier inhabitants in 1766, spoke of those at Pittsburgh as living in "some kind of a town without the fort."



REDOUBT AT PITTSBURGH, BUILT IN 1764.

George Washington appears again in the pageant of prominent personages who have passed, with the flood of years, this historic point. This time the year is 1770, and he is making a tour down the Ohio to view lands appropriated for the benefit of the officers and soldiers who served in the French and Indian war, of which this was one of the principal theatres. He arrived with Doctor Craik upon the seventeenth of October. He says in his journal, under that date:

We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment.† The houses, which are built of logs, and

† "The house of Samuel Semple, situated at the corner of Water and Ferry streets. . . . It was a two story, double hewn log house. We have been informed that it was built by Colonel George Morgan about 1764."—Craig's 'History of Pittsburgh.'

ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and, I suppose, may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders.

The whole of the twenty-second of November following was spent by Washington here, while on his return to Virginia.

The fort, which was, as a "formidable fortification," to "secure the British empire on the Ohio to the latest posterity," and to be "a lasting monument" to the abilities of General Stanwix, was, under orders received in October, 1772, within thirteen years from the time it was built, dismantled and abandoned by Major Edmondson, then its commander. Though relinquished as a British post, it was not destroyed, but during the year 1774, when Lord Dunmore set up Virginia's claim to the site of Pittsburgh and much other Pennsylvania territory, repaired by his agent, Dr. John Connolly, and occupied by him with a force of one thousand men. During the revolution it was occupied by Virginia troops, under Captain (afterwards General) John Neville, and by continentals under General Hand, Colonel Broadhead and General William Irvine; and in 1792 it served as a camp of instruction for Wayne's army, prior to his great victory over the Indians in western Ohio. Its ramparts were still standing in 1796, but in the meantime another though a smaller fortification had been erected by Major Isaac Craig, called Fort LaFayette.*

Here we bid adieu to Fort Pitt, only pausing to summarize the strange fatality attending its commanders and those of its predecessor, old French Fort Duquesne, together with the men who were prominently identified with the military operations in the immediate region. Of the English, Braddock received his death wound upon the field which still bears his name. Forbes survived his success—driving the enemy from Fort Duquesne—only a few months, while Stanwix was lost at sea not long after he had built Fort Pitt, and Bouquet survived his Ohio expedition only a year. Washington alone of those eminent in service here was preserved.

* In the latter part of 1791 the Indians had become so emboldened by their great victories over Harmar and St. Clair that the Pennsylvania frontier was again endangered, and many murders were committed in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. It was under this pressure that a new work was built here. On December 16, 1791, General Knox wrote to Major Isaac Craig: "I request you immediately to procure materials for a block-house and picketed fort, to be erected in such part of Pittsburgh as shall be the best position to cover the town, as well as the public stores which shall be forwarded from time to time. As you have been an artillery officer during the late war, I request you to act as engineer. . . ." The work was duly built. Major Craig wrote General Knox, May 18, 1792: "Captain Hughes with his detachment has occupied the barracks in the new fort since the first instant. Two of the six-pounders are very well mounted in the second story of one of the block-houses. The others will be mounted in a few days. The work, if you have no objections, I will name 'Fort LaFayette.' This title was approved by the secretary of war."—Craig's 'History of Pittsburgh.'

Upon the French side in the series of struggles Beaujeu, as we have seen, fell upon the field of victory, while Jumonville fell in a prior action, and Donnville in a subsequent skirmish (April, 1756) near Fort Duquesne.

The remaining facts which we chronicle belong chiefly to the bright pages of the history of peace, instead of those made red by war. The boundary disputes between Virginia and Pennsylvania brought about much bitter feeling, and several collisions of authorities, in which Lord Dunmore and Doctor Connolly on the one hand, and Captain John Neville on the other, were the chief local actors in 1774-1775; and the whisky insurrection, which may be called the second rebellion against constituted authority in the United States, engaged Pittsburgh in turmoil from 1791 to 1794, in which General John Neville and Major Isaac Craig were conspicuously engaged (upon the side of the law), the former suffering the burning of his fine mansion at the hands of the insurgents.

But it is of the early growth of the town, of civilization's progress after obtaining a foothold, that we must now treat in concluding this relation of early events at this first city of the west that has now become the east.

The survey of the "Manor of Pittsburgh" was authorized, by a warrant issued on the fifth of January, 1769, and the survey was completed and returned on the nineteenth of the following May. The lands embraced within the manor were five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres. In the fall of 1783 the proprietaries, John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, determined to sell tracts in the manor, and in January, 1784, the first sale of lands within the boundaries of Pittsburgh was made to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard. They became the owners of all the ground between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny river, "supposed to contain three acres." This was included in the plan of the town laid out for the proprietaries by Thomas Vickroy, in June, and approved by Tench Francis, their attorney, on the thirtieth of September, 1784. What authority Colonel John Campbell acted under when he laid out four squares in 1764, is unknown, but his work was, at least, so far recognized as not to be changed by the Penns. Lots were quickly sold—before the survey had been mapped upon paper. The era of development was entered upon. About the close of this first year of Pittsburgh's legal, but not actual, existence, Arthur Lee of Virginia, was here and examined the settlement. He employed some harsh (but probably truthful) language in describing it, and proclaimed himself, to the historian, a false prophet. He writes in his journal, under date of December 17, 1784:

Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log houses and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought, at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred weight, from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be damned without the benefit of clergy. . . . The place, I believe, will never be very considerable.

Washington, it will be remembered, described the village in 1770 as consisting of about twenty houses (outside the fort) which would indicate upon a liberal estimate, a population of about one hundred and twenty. Brackenridge, who represents himself in 1781 as taking up his "residence in the town of Pittsburgh,

If town it might be called,
That town was none,
Distinguishable by house or street,"

in 1786 wrote for the *Gazette*—then just established as the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies—an article in which he said:

The town consists at present of about an hundred dwelling houses, with buildings appurtenant. More are daily added, and for some time past it has improved with an equal but continued pace. The inhabitants, children, men and women, are about fifteen hundred [extravagant], this number doubling almost every year from the accession of people from abroad and from those born in the town.

This statement was an exaggeration. In Nile's register the town is reported to have had in 1786 "thirty-six log houses, one stone and one frame house," and this number, even if ten persons be allowed to a house, would make a population of only three hundred and eighty—but the garrison of the fort must not be left out of consideration.

A notable company of visitors were here on April 3, 1788. They were the first colony of New England pioneers, forty-eight in number, led by the famous revolutionary general, Rufus Putnam, and their craft, with poetical appropriateness named the Mayflower, bore them to the mouth of the Muskingum, where they founded Marietta, the first permanent English settlement northwest of the Ohio river. They were the pioneers of a new era in the history of America and of a vast multitude who passed through the gateway of the west and down the Beautiful River. Doctor Hildreth, who was afterwards personally acquainted with the leaders of this little band of adventurous spirits, says:

Pittsburgh then contained four or five hundred inhabitants, several retail stores, and a small garrison of troops was kept in old Fort Pitt. To our travelers, who had lately seen nothing but trees and rocks with here and there a solitary hut, it seemed to be quite a large town. The houses were chiefly built of logs, but now and then one had assumed the appearance of neatness and comfort.

In 1796 the borough—for it had been incorporated as such, April 22, 1794—contained, according to the assessor's returns, 1,395 people, or a

few less than Brackenridge incorrectly reported ten years before. Neville B. Craig, however, could a few years later enumerate only one hundred and two houses standing in the Pittsburgh of 1796. Of these it is interesting to note that ten were upon Market street, eighteen on Wood street, seven each on Ferry and Wood streets, ten on Front street, fifteen on Second street, eleven on Fourth street and eight on Fifth street. The census of 1800 gave Pittsburgh 1,565 inhabitants. In 1810 it had 4,768. The city—incorporated March 18, 1816—attained a population in 1820 of 7,248, and from that time onward the decades of its growth have been as follows: 1830, 12,568; 1840, 21,115; 1850, 46,616; 1860, 49,217; 1870, 89,076; 1880, 156,381. And during this time a sister city, essentially one with Pittsburgh, save in the mere matter of municipal organization, had been growing apace with her. Allegheny, which consisted of two cabins in 1785, and but 61 buildings all told in 1828, when it was incorporated as "Alleghenytown," reached a population in 1840 of 10,090, in 1850 of 21,262, in 1860 of 28,702, in 1870 of 53,180, and in 1880 of 78,681. The two cities, possessing five years ago a population of 235,062, were estimated to contain on the first of January, 1885, 275,000 inhabitants. This monument of civilization has been reared on a corner-stone planted in the wilderness one hundred and thirty-two years ago—a very brief interval as history measures time—and it really represents less than a century of uninterrupted building. Truly peace hath her victories no less than those of war. Now Pittsburgh, under her perpetual panoply of smoke, where long hung the smoke of war, fights only the incessant battle of industry; and where for years there was clashing of arms now ring the resounding blows of the conquerers of iron.

ALFRED MATHEWS.

AN EPISODE OF THE REBELLION.

On the day before Christmas, 1861, a deputation of loyal citizens from Gallatin county, Kentucky, called upon Brigadier-General Wade at Camp Dennison, near Cincinnati. They represented that the counties of Boone, Owin, Gallatin, Grant and Carroll, of which the village of Warsaw, on the Ohio river, was a central point, were in a condition of civil anarchy. On the question of secession the inhabitants, by a not very decided majority, were opposed to it, but the rebel element was much more active and better organized. There was one company of loyal home guards at Warsaw, which had for some months protected the citizens of that place, but could do it no longer. There had been three attacks upon the place by armed secessionists, in which citizens were killed, but the principal object was the capture of the state arms. They threatened to burn the town and murder its citizens. They were well organized, and in direct intercourse with Camp Boone, just over the line in Tennessee, in command of Humphrey Marshall. Colonel Marshall had, in October, held a barbecue near New Liberty, fifteen miles south of Warsaw, calling for volunteers. He was presented with a horse, which he rode to the rebel camp. Recruiting for that service went on openly, and the state arms generally furnished the equipments of the recruits. Neither the executive of Kentucky nor General Buell paid much attention to the representations of the Union men, a form of neutrality which was all the secessionists desired. If Kentucky seceded that legalized everything; if she did not, they could secede individually, and escape to the rebel camp.

I received an order from General Wade on the same evening to proceed to Warsaw, with as many companies of the twentieth Ohio volunteers, then at Camp King and Cincinnati, as seemed to be necessary. A steamer with four companies left the next day, having the Warsaw delegation on board. The order required me to protect union citizens against violence in their person or property, to prevent the enlistment of recruits for the rebel service, to secure and keep all arms in their hands, particularly those of the state, and to preserve order within the above named counties.

The civil government, in nearly all its branches, was either incompetent,

indifferent or hostile. To be of any practical value, it seemed to be necessary to apply the relentless arm of military despotism. A reign of terror had existed for some months, and loyal citizens of the United States were the victims. My intention was to reverse that condition of things to such an extent that marauders and murderers would be the terrorized parties. The transports reached Warsaw at about nine P. M. By eleven P. M. a number of the most active men who sustained the rebellion were arrested and on the road to Camp Chase. The people on the opposite shores of the Ohio river have peculiarities that are almost national. Those on the south side are accustomed to settle their personal differences by violence, often resulting in murder. Public opinion, the officers of the law, not excepting judges and jurors, look favorably upon that mode of settling disputes, which results in perjury and murder, crimes that are seldom punished. At the same time they are outspoken and courageous, with a decided contempt for those who are not bold, prompt and daring. To have acted with hesitancy or vacillation, would have led them to attribute my conduct to fear. Even when severe measures fell upon themselves, they respected the power which struck them. The practice of releasing persons on taking a fresh oath of allegiance had become a standing joke upon the government. Judges, clerks, sheriffs and attorneys held that so much as related to the United States was of no effect, since secession had destroyed the United States. I know of no instance where a secessionist was prevented from, or hesitated to join the confederacy, on account of his oath, or oaths of allegiance, not even officers of the army and navy. When my prisoners were not especially objectionable to union men, or had not committed acts of violence, the following paper was used in lieu of an oath, the breach of which brought certain retribution, but did not involve the crime of perjury:

I,....., a citizen of..... county, Kentucky, hereby admit and agree that in case I threaten, or injure the person or property of union men, on account of their adhesion to the United States government, or to any act for the overthrow of that government, or any act in aid of the present rebellion and the southern confederacy, I am to be held summarily responsible in my person and property.

At least one hundred and fifty persons signed this obligation, a large proportion of them with a cross. With a few exceptions, it was honorably kept. Where the parties were of bad reputation, and without property, securities were required and given by responsible men. It did not seem to offend their susceptibility. Quiet and respectable people of all parties, especially those of some pecuniary means, appeared

to be gratified by the results. Committees were organized of a mixed character, union and secession, who undertook to give notice where there were state arms concealed, and the whereabouts of characters likely to disturb the peace. Our intercourse was not unpleasant, and they performed their functions honestly. In one instance, at New Liberty, I had reason to suspect that a couple of prominent rebels were secreted, of whom I had not been advised. The village was surrounded by a line of pickets before daybreak, intending to hold the community responsible. Investigation showed that the men had not been there. The citizens did not appear to be offended, but, on the contrary, complimented us on the restoration of order. An ample dinner was given to the officers, and we parted, apparently on good terms. Privately and by letter I received numerous expressions of thanks for the peace and quiet they had not previously enjoyed. A public meeting was held at the court house in Warsaw, and a committee appointed, which addressed me the following paper:

WARSAW, GALLATIN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, December 29, 1871.

Colonel Whittlesey: The undersigned having been appointed a committee by the loyal men of Warsaw to confer with you in regard to the policy and all other appropriate matters that your mission here may appropriately demand of us, in regard to our town and county, for the ostensible purpose of establishing peace and order among our people, and if possible to secure every citizen in his legal, constitutional rights of life, liberty and property, and the pursuit of happiness, which have been so wantonly jeopardized and seriously endangered by the unholy rebellion and war against the most benign and free government in the world, and to further and assist you in this laudable and patriotic purpose, we respectfully tender you our humble services, and would further state to your honor that the meeting we have the honor to represent was of the opinion, from the evidence they had before them from reliable gentlemen, that the town of Warsaw and surrounding country was in imminent peril, and that they are fearful that your present forces are insufficient, however brave and patriotic they may be, to accomplish those very desirable ends, from the fact that you are surrounded by four or five counties which have largely the preponderance in strength and numbers on the secession side. However, we merely make these suggestions for your very favorable consideration. We would suggest the propriety of your making known, by proclamation or otherwise, if it be not inconsistent with your duty and the public service, the aims and objects of your command here. All of which we, the committee, in the bonds of the union and the enforcement of the constitution and the laws, submit to your honor.

As those men had been for some months in constant peril, and the courts, partly from inability but more from unwillingness, gave them no protection, it was evident nothing short of the military arm could do it. Some, even among loyal men, regarded our measures as unnecessarily harsh, but later in the war they were regarded as very moderate. They developed the fact that any danger to property was more potent than danger to individuals in their persons. My reply informed them that unless my orders were modified union men would not only be protected, but as far as possible relieved from threats and fears of violence. The rebel

element was informed that the United States government was supreme, and that those who denied that should not invoke its protection. In only a very limited number of cases was it necessary to act with severity, by way of example, like the following :

THE EAGLE HOME GUARDS.

Whereas, Our state is threatened to be invaded by the fanatical hordes, and the base, cowardly myrimidons of that dastardly tyrant, Abe Lincoln, who disgraces the executive chair once filled by Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, and

"Whereas, It is the duty of all brave companions and true citizens to protect and defend their homes and repel an invasion of their soil by an armed force,

"Therefore, We, whose names are signed hereto, do organize ourselves into a military company, who shall be known as the Eagle Home Guards, for the purpose of protecting our homes and our state, and we do pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to resist to the death an invasion of our state by the mercenary soldiers of the north."

To this terrible document, including the names of officers, were affixed the names of seventy-two (72) persons. With it was found an order from the adjutant general, of Kentucky authorizing the company and promising it state arms. Also a letter from a confederate captain at Camp Boone, calling for twelve men to fill his company there. The captain of the Eagle Guards was a man of wealth, whose house was the headquarters. He eluded us for about three weeks. In the meantime his farm and mill were occupied by one of our companies, and the grain and stock appropriated by the quartermaster. At length he came in and offered to sign the usual iron clad obligation, and to let secession alone in the future. He admitted that he had not been dealt with too severely. His promises were honorably kept, and more than once I received friendly messages from him.

Many letters were received from prisoners, or their attorneys, upon the unconstitutionality of their arrest. These legal arguments claimed for Kentucky rebels more rights than belong to the President of the United States, or the nation itself. All these were regarded as subordinates to Kentucky, or any other state, or its citizens. The seizure of their arms was regarded as equivalent to the seizure of their apparel, particularly those savage knives, made of saw plate, which many of them carried. They were not willing to admit that suspicion is a crime, while they claimed that the southern confederacy was a nation, and those who adhered to the United States within seceding states were guilty of treason. Some went so far as to claim that they had the right as individuals to punish treason to the south. For each arrest a brief record was kept and sent to the commissioner of prisoners at Camp Chase. Instead of an increase of force, the region became so quiet that two of the four companies were

returned to the regiment at Cincinnati. In their place, I received twenty-five cavalry under Lieutenant Nettleton, who acted as scouts and messengers.

Before General Buell their arguments and statements were received with consideration. His theory appeared to be that until a rebel became a member of the confederate forces he was not amenable to military arrest. After that he certainly was not, except as a prisoner in battle. His personal sympathy appeared to be more with seceders than with union men. His restraining orders left us little better than spectators. Literally executed, they deprived loyal men of protection, and gave the rebels all the opportunity they asked. On Arnold's creek, in Grant county, near Mount Zion, the union men appealed to us piteously for support. Some members of disloyal home guards had left them and joined the unionists. One of them acted as a guide to Lieutenant Nettleton, and was threatened with death. Another was informed not only that he would be killed, but his heart cut out, boiled and eaten.

Notwithstanding the implied censure of General Buell's orders, I stationed an officer and a number of men at Arnold's creek, whose reports of the conduct of the secession party there were such as to disgrace human nature. Without the military and the exercise of functions analogous to those of a provost marshal, Kentucky would have been swept beyond a *quasi* neutrality into open secession, like the other southern states. My position was becoming so ineffectual to protect union men, and uncomfortable to myself, that I applied to be relieved from that duty.

CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

JUDGE JACOB BURNET.

Most of the men who became eminent as statesmen in the territory northwest of the River Ohio had been identified more or less conspicuously with the French and Indian wars or with the revolutionary struggle for independence. This is largely accounted for by the fact that the latter half of the eighteenth century was America's heroic age; that being a historical fact, it was quite natural that those who had most extensively developed heroic qualities, most uniformly manifested the characteristics of courage and daring, and most conspicuously displayed true patriotism and fortitude in that age of heroes, would usually be most successful in securing the largest measure of personal regard, popularity and public confidence—in short, would most likely attain to positions of trust, of emolument, of honor in territorial times. A large proportion of the men who became territorial settlers came well fortified with military titles. Generally the more intelligent and ambitious of our pioneers did not enter the far off western wilderness in a defenceless condition, if military titles afforded a perceptible degree of protection. Especially was it true that a large proportion of the men who composed the New England colony which, under General Rufus Putnam, in 1788, established itself at the mouth of the Muskingum river, had rendered much valuable military service, were in fact "military chieftains," who bore up quite gracefully under rather high-sounding, though well-earned, military titles. And no less true is it of the meritorious men and patriots who constituted the territorial civil officers, most of whom had been military chieftains before they became civil officers, and it is recorded to their honor. They were for the most part fresh from the battlefields of the Revolution, from whence they carried off well-earned laurels that, upon their arrival in the "Northwest Territory" to assume the functions of civil officers, were still fresh and green. Elsewhere, also to a very great extent, very many of the men who constituted the hardy band of territorial immigrants, as the New Jerseyman, the Virginian and Kentuckian in the Miami valley; the Virginian in the Scioto valley; the Pennsylvanian in the eastern portion of the territory; and the Yankee in the Western Reserve, alike with their compatriots at Marietta, had been generals, commodores, colonels, majors,

lieutenants, aids or other military officers of a higher or lower rank, who, by meritorious military services in the interest of their country, had richly earned their titles in the "times that tried men's souls," and a large percentage of those pre-territorial chieftains attained to an honorable civic title, such as governor, judge, secretary, legislator, senator, congressman, constitution-maker or other of kindred character.

But not quite all the men of the territory who here attained to honorable civil positions had been "military chieftains." One illustrious exception, at least, I have in mind just now—one civilian, certainly, of territorial times occurs to me, who attained distinguished rank and high consideration in the territory, and afterwards in the state government; one who reached high civic honors, held office extensively and enjoyed, to an eminent degree, the consideration and respect of his countrymen; and all acquired without effort on his part, and wholly without the adventitious aid or *eclat* that comes from the performance of brilliant military services, or the wearing of military titles; albeit, his father was conspicuously identified with our revolutionary struggle until its close, and was associated with Washington, as an original member of the society of the Cincinnati. I mean one of the foremost of the territorial lawyers—one of the most valuable and influential of the councilors, a useful member of his town and city government, as well as of the state legislature, an incorruptible jurist and profound statesman, a politician and patriot, from 1828 to 1831 Ohio's distinguished representative in the senate of the United States—the late Judge Jacob Burnet.

Judge Burnet was of Scotch parentage—at least, his paternal grandfather, Doctor Ichabod Burnet, was born and educated at Edinburgh, Scotland, and after finishing his collegiate and professional studies, emigrated to America and established himself at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, where he continued in the practice of physic and surgery till he attained to a very advanced age. Judge Burnet's father, Doctor William Burnet, was an only son, born in New Jersey, graduated at the college of New Jersey in 1749, pursued the study of medicine a few years, and was laboriously engaged in the practice of his profession at Newark, New Jersey, until the winter of 1774-5. In the autumn of 1776, he was elected a member of congress, held under the articles of confederation, and the next year he accepted the position of physician and surgeon-general of the army of the eastern department, which office he continued to hold until the close of the revolutionary war. Jacob Burnet was born in Newark, New Jersey, on the

twenty-second of February, 1770. He received an excellent collegiate education at Nassau hall, Princeton, New Jersey, graduating with honor in September, 1791. After a year spent there as a resident graduate, he entered the office of Judge Bondinot, at Newark, as a student of law, and under that distinguished lawyer laid the foundation for his future eminence in his profession. He also spent a brief time in thoroughly equipping himself as a lawyer in the office of another eminent statesman and prominent member of the New Jersey bar, Honorable Richard Stockton. In the spring of 1796, the supreme court of his native state licensed him to practice law. He thereupon started for the Northwest Territory, to establish himself in the practice of his profession. And this he did, "throwing out his shingle" in Cincinnati, promptly, "when," as he declares, "it was a small village of log houses and cabins, and perhaps a dozen of frame houses with stone chimneys, most of them unfinished, and not a single brick building." At that time, too, he estimated the entire white population between Pennsylvania and the Mississippi, and the Ohio river and the great lakes at fifteen thousand. The population of Cincinnati was then estimated approximately at five hundred, including the army officers and soldiers in Fort Washington. He represented that when he settled in Cincinnati, in 1796, there were ten resident attorneys-at-law in that small village.

The inhabitants of the territory were increasing rapidly at the time Judge Burnet located in Cincinnati. Several important events of recent occurrence tended to that result. General Wayne's victory over the western confederated Indians on the Maumee was decisive, so overwhelming as to give assurance of peace and tranquillity to the territorial settlers, and the more rapidly they increased the greater their assurance of protection against marauding Indian incursions—the more numerous the frontiersmen the greater their ability to protect themselves. The fact of the rapid settlement of the territory was one of hope and encouragement to citizens, and tended to create confidence, in the older states, of assured immunity against Indian massacres, and thereby greatly stimulate immigration. But two years had transpired since the savages were overwhelmed at the Fallen Timbers, on the Maumee, and but one year had passed since they had, by treaty at Greenville, pledged themselves to a pacific policy towards the whites, who knew that the Indians bore it well in mind that the treaty at Greenville was formed to be executed, and the belief was prevalent among the tribes that were parties to it that its exe-

cution "to the letter" was one of the things that might reasonably be expected.

General Wayne's victory on the Maumee in 1794, and his treaty at Greenville in 1795, as already intimated, were the two events that gave a mighty impulse to immigration in the old thirteen states, and at once started the Northwest Territory on the high road to prosperity and rapid settlement. Hence it was that the young prospective territorial statesman from New Jersey had to wait but little more than two years until his prospects opened up auspiciously. This was the way of it. By the provisions of the ordinance of 1787 the people of the "territory northwest of the river Ohio" became entitled to an elective house of representatives as soon as the resident free male inhabitants of the territory of lawful age should number five thousand. Well, so rapidly had immigrants been settling in the territory of late that it had become manifest to Governor St. Clair that the time had come to inaugurate measures to establish the second grade of territorial government in the northwest. Under the first grade the governor and judges selected, enacted and proclaimed the laws. Under the second an elective law-making body enacted them, the council, or upper branch of the legislature, being selected by the popular branch, and confirmed by congress. Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1798, Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation declaring the foregoing to be the existing state of facts, and directing the sheriffs in all the organized counties of the territory to hold an election for members of the popular branch of the legislature on the third Monday of December, 1798, one member to every five hundred free male inhabitants, the term of service to be two years, the qualifications of a representative to be three years' residence in one of the states of the American union, and a residence in the district; or simply a three years' residence in the district, and to be the owner of two hundred acres of land within the same. The ordinance defined the qualifications of a voter for a representative to be the ownership of fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of some one of the states, and being a resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district or territory.

The sheriff of Hamilton county (James Smith) and the three justices of the peace (Aaron Caldwell, Stephen Wood and John Greer) whom he called to his assistance in preserving order, conducting the election, counting the ballots and issuing certificates of election, seem to have managed the matter somewhat awkwardly, owing, probably, in part, at least, to the

fact that the governor failed to designate, in his proclamation, the number of representatives to be elected. However, the election was held in Cincinnati for the county of Hamilton, there being no other township or election polls in the county, probably, at that time, the following being the names of the candidates and number of votes cast, to-wit:

William McMillan.....	417	John Ludlow.....	190
William Goforth.....	357	James Findlay.....	165
Robert Benham.....	303	Jacob Burnet.....	149
John Smith.....	228	Thomas Gibson.....	111

A number of votes were cast for other gentlemen.

The sheriff and his board of magistrates decided that Hamilton county was entitled to but five representatives, and accordingly declared the five gentlemen first named (they having the highest number of votes) elected, and no others, thereby ruling out and defeating James Findlay and Jacob Burnet, who were, in fact, elected, because seven was the number of representatives to which Hamilton county was entitled.

In February, 1799, when the popular branch of the legislature met for the purpose of selecting ten men, of which number congress was to choose five to constitute the territorial council, they made choice of James Findlay and Jacob Burnet for two of the ten, and these two were of the five chosen by congress, and remained members of the council until the organization of the state government in 1803. Findlay and Burnet never appealed to the house of representatives to accord to them the seats to which they were elected, having reached positions they undoubtedly preferred—positions of greater honor and longer duration.

The governor having ascertained, unmistakably, that Hamilton county was entitled to seven instead of five representatives, issued another proclamation on the twenty-eighth of August, 1799, directing the sheriff to hold an election on the twelfth of September, 1799, for choosing ten additional representatives for Hamilton county, which was accordingly done, 536 votes being cast, of which Aaron Caldwell received 347 and Isaac Martin 265, and they were accordingly declared elected. As at the previous election, a number of scattering votes were cast. The elections were held, as ordered by the governor, throughout the territory, and the gentlemen who were charged with legislative duties by the choice of their fellow citizens met together at Cincinnati, February 4, 1799. The only business transacted at this session was the designation of ten gentlemen, resident freeholders, possessing, in fee simple, at least five hundred acres of

land in the "territory northwest of the river Ohio," whose names they caused to be transmitted to the congress of the United States, conformably to the ordinance of 1787, five of whom were to be selected from said list, who were to constitute the territorial council and serve for five years, unless they resigned, or by some means forfeited their office or their eligibility. The following ten gentlemen received the legislative nomination, the five whose names appear first on the list being subsequently chosen by congress to serve as our first territorial council, viz: Jacob Burnet and James Findlay of Cincinnati, Hamilton county; Robert Oliver of Marietta, Washington county; David Vance of Vanceville, Jefferson county; Henry Vandenburg of Vincennes, Knox county; Richard Allison of Hamilton county; Joseph Darlington of Adams county; William Patton of Ross county; Arthur St. Clair, Jr., of Cahokia, St. Clair county.

The first joint meeting of the popular branch of the legislature met in Cincinnati, September 24, 1799, and remained in session until December 19, 1799. The second session was held in Chillicothe, from the first Monday in November, 1800, until December 9, 1800; and the third session was also held in Chillicothe, continuing in session from November 24, 1801, until January 23, 1802.

Judge Burnet, in his third letter of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical society series, states that in 1798 Winthrop Sargent, who had been secretary of the northwestern territory for ten years, being appointed by President Adams governor of the new territory, then lately established on the lower Mississippi, resigned the office of secretary, and the appointment was about to be procured for him by Doctor Boudinot, or had, in fact, been tendered him; but having ascertained that his friend, Captain William H. Harrison, was about to retire from the army and desired the appointment, he (Burnet) declined it, by way of serving a friend, and Harrison, the gallant young army officer, obtained it. He, it may be said, however, held the office only about a year, when he was elected a delegate to congress by a joint vote of the territorial legislature, eleven votes being cast for Harrison and ten for Arthur St. Clair, Jr., who was then, and had been for some years the attorney-general of the territory, and a popular young lawyer of Cincinnati, a son of the governor.

Judge Burnet says in one of his letters that many of his friends solicited him to be a candidate for territorial delegate to congress, and gave him strong assurances of his election, but that he declined to serve because he was at that time engaged in an extensive and lucrative law prac-

tice, and not wealthy, he could not afford to abstract from it as much time and attention as would be required, besides it appeared to him that he could be more useful to the people of the territory in their own legislature, of which he was then a member, than in congress.

Judge Burnet represented the first legislative session to have been a very busy one. Governor St. Clair inaugurated it by delivering to them in joint session what the judge calls "a very elegant address," recommending such measures to them as he thought would promote the welfare of the people. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent or representative government—a government of the people, in short, Judge Burnet wrote and said, called for a general revision of the laws, as well as a general enlargement of the statute book. He says they repealed some laws, others were modified, altered and amended, and a long list of new ones added to the code. The offices were to be created and filled, and the duties attached to them prescribed, and a new tax-law and financial policy adopted, consequent to the change that had just taken place, and would certainly be demanded yearly by the rapidly increasing population, and as rapidly augmenting expenses.

Judge Burnet further states in substance that the members of the territorial legislature, though strong minded, sensible men, were not all scholars and experienced legislators, nor accustomed to the duties of their new stations, and not conversant with the science of law. The consequence was, that finding him comparatively fresh from college, from the law office, both as student and practitioner, a fine scholar, familiar with law forms, legal learning, sound philosophical principles and ambitious to be useful and to make a record for himself, it is not strange that they decided that he was just the man to rely upon to draft bills, prepare reports, write resolutions and give to such other documents presented and matured in the council the benefit of his scholarly criticisms and such needed revision as would be desirable and convenient at times in legislative assemblies, if not positively indispensable. The journals of the territorial council will probably show that he was an industrious, hard-worked councilor, and of great influence as well. He was probably the most useful as he was the most learned man in either branch of the legislature. Any question that came up as an issue in the council of the Northwest Territory would be very apt to be settled, if it could be done, by profound knowledge, classical scholarship, and familiarity with legal lore and general as well as *belles lettres* literature, and large attainments in knowledge.

Though not yet thirty years of age, and though nearly all the members of both branches of the legislature were men much older and of greater experience, yet few, if any, held equal rank with him in talents, attainments, in usefulness, in professional learning, and in extent of legislative labors.

Very much such a position was held in the house of representatives by Honorable Solomon Sibley. He was about the age of Judge Burnet, a lawyer, too, came to the territory the same year, spent a little while at Marietta and Cincinnati, and in 1797 located at Detroit, Wayne county; was elected a representative in 1799; in December, 1800, he was also chosen a member of the council in place of Mr. Vandenburg, thrown into Indiana Territory upon its organization in 1800, and served as such until Ohio came into the union in 1803. He divided work somewhat with his associate councilor, Honorable Jacob Burnet, during the second and third sessions of the legislature. Honorable Solomon Sibley was a delegate in congress from Michigan from 1820 to 1823, and served as a territorial judge from 1824 to 1836, when he resigned and lived in honorable retirement, universally respected for his talents, patriotism and many virtues, until his death, which took place at Detroit, Michigan, April 4, 1846. Major-General Sibley, honorably identified with Minnesota history, is his son.

About the close of Judge Burnet's services as councilor, the people of Cincinnati decided to incorporate their town and chose him recorder, one of the most important of its officers, and he made himself useful in that position. This was in 1802, Cincinnati at that time having an estimated population of one thousand. Those associated with him were persons of prominence among the early-time men of Cincinnati. The opportunity to be thus useful was not neglected by their chief men, although no great honor was acquired thereby, and less in the way of pecuniary rewards for these public services.

For about twenty years after Jacob Burnet settled in Cincinnati he devoted himself assiduously to the practice of the law, and held a high rank at the bar. He had a lucrative but laborious practice, making it a point to attend the courts held by the territorial judges at Cincinnati, Marietta, Chillicothe and Detroit from 1796 till the formation of the state government in 1803, when a different judicial system was put into operation. The county courts, or quarter session courts, were also attended, more or less, by Jacob Burnet. The general court of the territory was composed

of three judges appointed by federal authority, who held court at stated periods and remote points, taking in their circuits, with more or less regularity, most of the county seats of the territory. Judge Burnet stated to me that the judges and lawyers generally traveled from point to point, in parties of two or more, sometimes taking a pack-horse to transport all articles of necessity that could not be carried otherwise, dependence for supplies on the route being sometimes quite precarious, and even camping out of nights was frequently unavoidable. Traveling between county seats remote from each other, through a wilderness country, over roads only slightly better than blind bridle paths, and often encountering dangerously high waters, certainly made this sort of life and travel over a country in its primitive state quite hazardous at times, and always attended with privations, exposures and fatigue. Such were the perils and privations of these journeys that Judge Symmes was the only one of the three judges who served throughout the whole period of our territorial history, from 1788 to 1803. One of his associates, Judge Varnum, died from disease after less than one year's service; and the other, Judge Parsons, was drowned in attempting to cross Big Beaver, in 1789, before he had rendered two years' service as territorial judge. Nine persons were appointed from first to last. Judges Symmes, Meigs and Gilman constituted the court at the close of the territorial government in 1803.

Judge Burnet, in remarking upon his experiences and trials when "out on the circuit," observed that in performing these journeys, either in summer or winter, they were compelled to swim every watercourse in their route which could not be forded, the country in its then primeval condition being wholly destitute of bridges and ferries, as well as of roads worth calling such. Their main reliance was on their horses, and they always secured as good swimmers as possible. Sometimes it happened to the judge and his fellow-travelers, too, that after swimming a stream covered with floating ice they had to encamp on the ground for the night and strike a fire and make themselves as comfortable as possible, and be in readiness for an early morning ride.

During the two opening years of the present century, and perhaps to some extent in the closing year of the last, the people of the Northwest Territory were undergoing considerable political agitation, dividing on Federalism and Republicanism—between Adams and Jefferson. The question of the immediate, or at least early, establishment of the state government divided the political leaders, the Federalists generally opposing the

measure, alleging that the increased taxation necessitated thereby would be an onerous burden upon the people, one that they would find oppressive and difficult to bear up under, and the Jeffersonian leaders were urging the measure, mainly because of their dislike of Governor St. Clair's methods and policy, and especially of his very free exercise of the veto power, the right of the absolute use of which had been granted to him by the ordinance of 1787. It was charged that he exercised that power arbitrarily and unwisely, and his administration gradually grew unpopular. Judge Burnet thought that he had acted conscientiously, and generally sustained him, especially in his opposition to the immediate organization of a state government. He (Burnet) had a high opinion of his talents and integrity, although he admitted that he did, during the last years of the territory, "exhibit a disposition to extend his power." During the first session, Judge Burnet says, the governor vetoed eleven of the thirty bills passed, notwithstanding he conceded to him undoubted integrity of purpose.

Judge Burnet was confessedly a Federalist, was classed with them, held to their views, and in general was a friend to General St. Clair, and supported his administration, but conceded that the course he pursued was destructive to his popularity. Judge Burnet was decided and outspoken in opposition to the organization of a state government at the time it was done, as were many other prominent men, but they were overslaughed by the general sentiment of the people, which was overwhelming in favor of the measure. The result was that the convention that framed the constitution of 1802 was composed almost entirely of friends of the measure, one member only (Mr. Cutler of Washington county) voting nay on the direct question after the convention had been addressed in opposition to it by Governor St. Clair. Another result was that the opponents of a state government generally lost their popularity and did not regain it very soon, some of them never. Judge Burnet admitted that those (himself included) "who opposed immediate state organization in 1802, incurred public displeasure and censure, and lost all political influence in the formation of the constitution, and the subsequent administration of it." "In a very short time," he said, "a degree of prejudice was excited which bore down every man who opposed the scheme of a state government. My political influence, and that of my associates, sunk into one common grave." Prescription followed, and submitting gracefully to their destiny, withdrew from all participation in the politics of the day for the time being, and the majority were believed to be very tardy in mitigating the

severity of their censures, and modifying the rebukes under which the minority rested.

Notwithstanding Judge Burnet's eminent talents, he was not a member of the constitutional convention (was probably not a candidate for a seat in that body), and was not again called into the public service until the year 1814, when he was elected a member of the popular branch of the state legislature. This manifestation of regained confidence was entirely voluntary, and was repeated for next year (1815), and in neither case did he make any personal effort to secure that result. It was supposed that he would have been again returned the next year had he entered into a contest for it, but he declined to be a candidate. He was absent from the state when elected in 1814, the people of their own accord choosing to avail themselves of the benefit of his talents without getting his consent to serve them. Judge Burnet's election to the legislature in 1814 occurred during our war with England, with which Ohio was intimately identified. He was popular in Ohio from beginning to end. Very early in the war our state raised three regiments, which were commanded by Colonels Findlay, McArthur and Cass, besides other commands to meet special emergencies, such as the defence of Fort Meigs, and the fight for supremacy on Lake Erie; and although Ohio was almost unanimously in favor of the war, yet so well did Judge Burnet's course in the legislature tally with this war sentiment that no special effort seems to have been made to prevent his reelection in 1815. In 'Biographical Annals,' are liable authority, it is stated of Judge Burnet that he "took an active part in the Ohio legislature in sustaining the measures produced in that body to aid the general government in maintaining the contest." That he was a useful, efficient, influential member of the legislature can be readily believed, for he had then reached middle life, was in the full maturity of his intellectual powers, and capable, by reason of mental strength, and twenty years of active life as a practitioner of law, to take a leading part among his co-legislators. His natural abilities, learning, attainments and large experience well fitted him "to be a power" in a deliberative body, and that is what he was in the Ohio legislature in 1814-16.

In the spring of 1816 Judge Burnet rendered the last service in the Ohio legislature, and on his return to his constituents he inaugurated measures to bring his extensive law practice to a close, which he accomplished gradually. But he did not wholly withdraw himself from business affairs, for in that year (1816) the second United States bank was

chartered, and soon after a branch was established in Cincinnati, and much to the gratification of many friends, Judge Burnet consented to become its president. The duties of this position, though perhaps nominal, induced, or at least hastened the closing up of his law practice, which may not have been fully determined upon before this opportunity presented itself for a gradual retirement from the practice of his profession.

Judge Burnet had associated with him in the directorship of the United States branch bank such distinguished men as General William H. Harrison, General James Findlay, a longtime member of Congress; Doctor Daniel Drake, one of the most eminent medical practitioners of the Ohio valley; John H. and William Piatt, William Mack, state senator; and other men well known to fame. Martin Baum, Hugh Glenn, James Keys, Thomas Sloo, William M. Worthington and Joseph Perry complete the list of directors. Gorham A. Worth was cashier.

In 1821, when Honorable Jacob Burnet had become somewhat accustomed to the changed habits consequent upon his withdrawal from the practice of law, while still in vigorous middle life, he was happily met by an opportunity for eminent usefulness. A vacancy had taken place on the bench of the supreme court of Ohio, and the duty devolved on the governor (Ethan Allen Brown) to fill the vacancy. The thought opportunely occurred to him to tender that honorable position to one of his well known fellow townsmen, "a gentleman of the old school," though then in comparative retirement, gracefully enjoying the *otium cum dignitate* of a gentleman of accomplishments and elegant leisure, but an eminent, dignified attorney "of ye olden time," and one, too, who was conceded by the older members of the Ohio bar to be a learned, accomplished and upright lawyer—one, it may be added, than whom few, if any, held a higher rank professionally, intellectually, socially, morally or otherwise. It was a happy thought—there was eminent propriety in associating the name of Jacob Burnet with the supreme judgeship of Ohio—and the appointment was made and accepted, and henceforth it was Judge Burnet, and he proceeded to discharge the duties of his high office. When the legislature next met they elected him, and he remained on the bench to the satisfaction of the Ohio bar and the people until 1828, a period of seven years. Then, on the resignation by General William H. Harrison of his seat in the senate of the United States to accept the position of minister to Columbia, urged upon him by President Adams, Judge Burnet was elected his successor, to fill the vacancy thus created, which expired

March 4, 1831, the votes being as follows: Judge Jacob Burnet, 56 votes; Honorable John W. Campbell, 50 votes.

Judge Burnet entered the United States senate several months before the expiration of John Quincy Adams' presidential term, and soon after the election of General Jackson to the presidency in November, 1828, for whom the electoral vote of Ohio had been cast. Judge Burnet had sustained the measures of Mr. Adams' administration, as had General Harrison, whose vacancy he had been chosen to fill, and it was well understood at the time of his election that he was not likely to support the incoming administration in its distinctive measures. He was known as a National Republican, and that party had been successful in Ohio, at the October election in 1828, not only electing its candidate, Allen Trimble, to the office of governor, but also securing a majority in both branches of the legislature. Honorable John W. Campbell, a man of talents and character, who served from 1817 to 1827 in congress, and who was appointed, in 1829, United States judge for the district of Ohio, was the Jackson or Democratic candidate for governor, but failed of his election by 2,020 votes; but at the presidential election, in November, the state gave General Jackson a small majority on a somewhat increased vote. Judge Burnet opposed the party measures of President Jackson while he served in the United States senate, and in so doing he was generally supported by the legislature and by the people of Ohio. This was manifested by the legislature electing Honorable Thomas Ewing, who was of the same political party, as his successor in the senate; and at the only gubernatorial election held in Ohio while he was in the United States senate, General Duncan McArthur, a National Republican, was successful, defeating General Robert Lucas, the Democratic candidate, by a majority of 1,688, and he was not only a worthy, meritorious man, and of large experience in public life, having served many years as state senator and sometimes speaker, and was also personally popular. But the parties were then of about equal strength.

It may be proper to remark that Judge Burnet was not a candidate for reelection, and therefore it was that his term of service as United States senator was brief. He accepted the position at first on the express condition that at the expiration of his term he should not be considered a candidate for reelection, but should be permitted to carry out his long cherished purpose of retiring to private life. Judge Burnet rendered valuable services to his state as United States senator, and his career in that learned and deliberative body was honorable throughout and highly creditable to

himself. The senate of the United States, while Judge Burnet was a member of it, and during a few of the succeeding years, probably held a higher rank for dignity, learning and talent than at any other period between the organization of the government and the present time. It was during Judge Burnet's term of service that Webster's second speech in reply to Hayne of South Carolina, was made, which is still regarded by competent judges to have been the ablest senatorial effort of the ablest senator that ever occupied a seat in the senate of the United States. Within the period embracing Judge Burnet's senatorial service and the three succeeding years, besides Webster, Clay and Calhoun, there were such senators as Tazewell of Virginia, Van Buren and Wright of New York, Benton of Missouri, Hayne and Preston of South Carolina, Grundy and White of Tennessee, Woodbury of New Hampshire, Ewing of Ohio and others of equal ability that might be named. After the close of his senatorial services, Judge Burnet, though not very aged nor infirm, was, nevertheless, disposed to claim exemption from the performance of the duties of civil office for pecuniary reward, though he did not decline to serve his fellow-citizens in posts of honor when called upon, if by so doing he could promote the public welfare. Lanman's 'Biographical Annals,' at all events, is authority for the statement that he was chosen by the legislature of the state of Kentucky one of the commissioners to settle some matters in controversy between that state and the commonwealth of Virginia. It is also of record that he accepted of the presidency of the Astronomical society of Cincinnati, and served many years as such, and gave that association the benefit of his talents and experience until near the close of his long and honored life.

Judge Burnet also served for many years as president of the Colonization Society, was president of the board of trustees of the Medical college of Ohio; also president of the board of trustees of the Cincinnati college, and he was connected actively and efficiently with numerous philanthropic and beneficent movements, measures and enterprises. It is also within the memory of some of Judge Burnet's compatriots that he was called to the professorship of law in the University of Lexington, Virginia, and among the many honors conferred upon him was the honorary degree of doctor of laws by this institution, an honor also conferred upon him by his own *alma mater*, Nassau Hall. Among other manifestations of the high appreciation in which he was held by distinguished men, not only in America but also in Europe, was his nomination to a membership in the

French academy by La Fayette, whose acquaintance Judge Burnet had probably made during that distinguished foreigner's travels through the United States in 1824-25, his visit to Cincinnati occurring during the latter year.

When I came to Ohio sixty years ago, Judge Burnet was a member of the supreme court, that tribunal then consisting of four judges. It was an itinerant body, at least partially so; the judges traveled in pairs, holding court in two counties at the same time, until the circuit of the state was completed, one term of court being held in each county during the year. One term of court, continuing for a month or two, composed of all the four judges, was annually held at the seat of government, for the decision of cases reserved from the circuit, and many were thus reserved to come under revision of the whole court, as when new law questions arose, or unsettled principles came under review, when three of the judges must agree to decide a case. Law principles were not *finally* settled unless the whole court concurred. I believe cases that were adjusted by the court in banc, as the court held by all the judges was termed (or court of final resort) were tried on the papers presented, both testimony and legal arguments being either in manuscript or print. In some classes of proceedings I think it was a court of original jurisdiction, but generally its functions were those of an appellate court. Judges John McLean, Charles R. Sherman, Peter Hitchcock, Gustavus Swan and Jessup N. Coup were associated with Judge Burnet at different times on the supreme bench of Ohio, Judge McLean retiring soon after Judge Burnet's appointment, and Judge Sherman being elected towards the close of his term of service. It was an able court then as it has been generally—but perhaps was never before or since entitled to be held in higher honor than then.

Nearly half a century ago (late in 1837), when Judge Burnet was somewhat advanced in life, and I was young and charged with some duties to the public at the seat of government, endeavoring to "do the state some service," Judge Burnet and myself were brought together by invitation of a mutual friend, and for some hours the learned judge, the experienced statesman, the instructive colloquialist and fascinating conversationalist, entertained me as I had never been before and have never been since. He was at that time engaged in writing his letters on the Northwest Territory—had, in fact, written most of them—and our conversation was chiefly about territorial men and statesmen, territorial times and laws, and territorial events and experiences, being just the topics treated of in his

highly entertaining and instructive "Letters on the Northwest Territory," and which still maintain their popularity, both as contributions to the history of "The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio" and to the history of Ohio as well. He conversed with me in a most charming manner about Governor St. Clair and the territorial judges, legislatures, conventions and statesmen; also about the people, their habits, hardships, experiences, peculiarities—talked just as he had written and subsequently wrote about them in those celebrated letters published by the Ohio Historical and Philosophical society, without which, less, very much less interest would attach to the romantic story of the settlement by our pioneer fathers and mothers of "the territory northwest of the river Ohio;" and, in truth, very much less would be known of those heroic men and women and of those primeval times of whom he so interestingly wrote.

The pleasant incidents of that agreeable, instructive, long-remembered interview found a firm lodgment in the memory, tended to a higher, purer patriotism, a patriotism that induced a constantly cherished recognition of the obligation, "to see that the commonwealth suffered no detriment," and through the years of almost half a century has been an inspiration, a stimulant to a more thorough study of the history of the territory of the great northwest.

One word more. Judge Burnet "of ye olden time" was a man of unimpeachable moral character, exemplary in habits and deportment, amiable in temper, always inclining to "the golden rule." He was habitually through life a fascinated reader of the sacred classics, had unbounded faith in the inspiration of the Bible, practiced its precepts, cherished its doctrines, commended its teachings, lived in harmony with its spirit, gave his sanction to its philosophy as taught by Calvinistic expounders, regarded it as a boon to erring man and an inestimable gift of God, its mission being "to guide mankind in the better way, the way of life."

ISAAC SMUCKER.

Newark, Ohio.

BIOGRAPHIC.

JONATHAN SLOANE.

Born in Pelham, Massachusetts, November 20, 1785, died in Ravenna, Portage county, Ohio, April 25, 1854. Mr. Sloane acquired a collegiate education at Williams college, Massachusetts, graduating in the class of 1812. Soon after leaving college he commenced reading law in the office of Jonathan Lyman, Esq., at Northampton, Massachusetts. After he was admitted to the bar in 1816, he came west and took up his residence in Ravenna and entered upon the practice of his profession. He soon gained an honorable position at the bar, rather as a sound and able counselor, than as a brilliant advocate. He had none of the graces of oratory, but in the time of his strength he was combative, forcible, energetic in the maintenance of his views, which he believed sound, and in the height of his practice achieved the distinction of being the best chancery lawyer on the Western Reserve. He possessed an honest, bluff heartiness, and a frank, positive way of expressing his opinions, and despised a low or mean act with unutterable contempt. He was an old school gentleman, with deep-rooted prejudices, but uniformly urbane and courteous to all with whom he had business intercourse; and these qualities he carried into the practice of his profession. Honorable Darius Lyman, so many years conspicuous as his legal competitor, ever bore cheerful and cordial testimony to his fairness and honorable bearing in professional life. Soon after entering upon the practice of law in Ravenna, he was appointed prosecuting attorney of the county, and in subsequent years he was elected by the people successively as representative and senator in the state legislature. From the commencement of Mr. Sloane's residence in Ravenna, he was general agent of the Tappan family, original land owners in Ravenna township, for the sale of their real estate, which position he held many years, and by means of which he became well and favorably known to most of the early settlers, to whom he was ever lenient and obliging. He took an active part in obtaining the charter for the Pennsylvania and Ohio canal,

which was granted by the legislature in 1827, and the successful completion of this then important public work is greatly due to his influence and efficient efforts in its behalf. He was chosen a director at the organization of the canal company and remained in the board for many years. In 1832 he was elected, and in 1834 reelected representative in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth congress from the eighteenth district, then composed of the counties of Portage, Cuyahoga, Lorain and Medina. Having served his two terms in congress, on his return home he gave up professional practice and withdrew, in a great measure, from business life, an ample fortune and impaired health making active exertion neither necessary nor desirable on his part. Physical infirmities growing upon him, he retired from society many years before his death, always relishing, however, with peculiar zest, the visits of his old friends and associates. Mr. Sloane was elected to congress by the anti-masonic party, but he was identified with the Whig party from its organization, in 1835, up to the time of his death. He faithfully and conscientiously discharged the duties of a useful life, filling many offices of trust and responsibility with fidelity and inflexible integrity. Mr. Sloane never married, still he enjoyed society, and was a gentleman of kindly nature, generous impulses and liberal feelings. In the active portion of his life, his generosity was the frequent theme of just commendation. Although a man of great firmness and decision of character, prompt and positive in all that pertained to a conscientious discharge of public and personal obligations, yet in social intercourse he was earnest, genial and constant in his friendships, and guided in all relations with his fellow-men by the highest sense of honor and rectitude.

E. P. BRAINERD.

March, 1885.

ANN BAILEY.

Ann Bailey was born in Liverpool, England, in the year 1700, and was named in honor of Queen Anne, and was present with her parents at her coronation in 1705. She was of good family, and her parents, whose name was Sargent, were people of some means. When a school girl at the age of nineteen, she was kidnapped with her books while on her way from school, brought to America and landed in Virginia, on James river, where she was sold to defray her expenses. She clung with great tenacity

to her books, was a good scholar in her day, and in after life when she moved with her son to Ohio, in 1818, taught school, and is known to have closely adhered to the scripture teaching, "spare the rod and spoil the child." She was a strict disciplinarian and a successful teacher, as her grandchildren, who went to school to her, testify. After some years of search her parents found her whereabouts, and offered to send her means to return home, but she preferred the new world to the old, in which she figured conspicuously and heroically during a certain portion of her life. At the age of thirty she married a man by the name of John Trotter, in the commonwealth of Virginia, then an English colony belonging to Great Britain. They had but one child, a boy named William, who was born to them in their advanced age. During the trouble with the Indians Mr. Trotter enlisted in Colonel Charles Lewis' regiment, and was killed with him in the bloody battle at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Big Kanawha river, on the tenth of October, 1774.

As soon as she heard of the death of her husband (a presentiment of which she said she had before he was killed by the Indians), and became a widow, a furious, wild, strange fancy possessed her, and with a deep-seated spirit of revenge rankling in her bosom, she swore vengeance upon the entire savage race. Abandoning the natural pursuits of woman, she armed herself with a rifle, bullet-pouch, powder-horn, tomahawk and scalping-knife, attired herself like a man, in hat, hunting-shirt, leggings and moccasins, rode astride like the male sex, and went about the country on horseback, attending every muster of the soldiers, where she commanded universal attention. She was a short, thick-set woman, of masculine figure. She wore long, loose locks of matted hair, which gave her a wild and savage appearance. Her face was bronzed by exposure, and marked by the unmistakable lines of care and passion. She left her son with Mrs. Moses Mann of Bath county, Virginia, and entered upon a career of scout and spy. She hunted, rode and fought like a man, and man-like, delighted in all the excitement and adventure of border life. She was often engaged in the hazardous undertaking of conveying information to the commandants of forts, a service in which she took special delight, and was much less likely to be disturbed in than a man by the Indians, who deemed her insane, and who always look upon a person in that condition as under the special protection of the Great Spirit.

After sixteen years of widowhood the gentle influence of love pervaded her bosom, and in 1790 she married a man by the name of John Bailey,

a soldier, with whose name her checkered and eventful career is linked. Shortly after their marriage she went with him to Fort Clendenin, on the site of the present city of Charleston, on Kanawha river, in what is now West Virginia, where he had been assigned to duty with the garrison. She was quite an expert with her rifle, becoming very celebrated for her skill in the use of it. Her career as scout, spy and messenger won for her the title of "the Semiramis of America." Her aim was unerring, and the object that came within range of her rifle was sure to receive its contents. Her field of operations lay between Point Pleasant along the Kanawha valley and the distant settlements on the James and Potomac rivers in Virginia. She had a fine black horse with white feet, blazed face and glassy eyes called "Liverpool," in honor of her birthplace, a present to her from the men at Fort Clendenin. She had him well trained, and he would do her bidding almost as intelligently as a human being. With him she braved many dangers, made many perilous journeys over lofty mountains, through rugged canyons and beautiful vales in the cause of freedom. Upon one of her journeys from Point Pleasant to Fort Clendenin a band of Indians discovered her, and raising a war whoop started in hot pursuit. In order to escape them she dismounted her horse, turned him loose and crept into a hollow sycamore log. While in there the Indians came up and sat down upon her place of concealment to rest, after which they took possession of her noble horse and led him away. As soon as she found the Indians were gone, and she thought it prudent to leave her hiding place she did so, and taking up their trail, followed it until late at night, when she came upon the party fast asleep, with "Liverpool" tied near them. She crept very stealthily forward, untied her horse, mounted his back and when at a safe distance from being shot or immediately captured gave a shout of defiance, bounded away, and in good time reached the fort in perfect safety.

Upon one occasion the garrison at Fort Clendenin received intelligence of the approach of a large party of Indians, and upon examining their stock of supplies, found to their consternation that the powder was nearly exhausted. To get a fresh supply a long journey of many miles would have to be traveled, through a vast wilderness filled with relentless savages, ever on the alert to use the scalping knife and tomahawk upon the pale-faces. The situation was made known to the men, but not one of them would volunteer to undertake the perilous journey of about one hundred and fifty miles to the nearest fort. No sooner, however, were the facts

made known to the women in the fort than Ann Bailey volunteered to go upon the hazardous trip, and fitting herself out in an appropriate manner, mounted her faithful horse "Liverpool," and rode away into the wilderness, determined to die or succeed in the attempt to secure help for the garrison and those near and dear to her, who were fighting for freedom and riddance from the savage foe. For weary days and nights she continued her course, often seeing the Indians, but eluding them, until she arrived safely before the walls of Fort Union (now Lewisburg, West Virginia), into which she was soon admitted. At once she made known her business to the commandant of the fort, who furnished her with an extra horse and caused them both to be laden with supplies. He also offered to send a detachment of men with her, but she refused them and set out in haste all alone on her return trip, and after days and nights of weary and dangerous travel, reached Fort Clendenin safely with her supplies and turned them over to the commandant. Early the next morning after her arrival, the fort was furiously attacked by the Indians, but the garrison now having a good supply of ammunition withstood the shock and repulsed the savages. Thus the inmates of the fort were indebted to Ann Bailey for the defeat of the merciless foe and the preservation of their lives and of those near and dear to her.

There are now living many of the offspring of the old pioneers who went through so many hardships, privations and struggles in those dark days, who should cherish their memories, and love, honor and respect them, ever remembering what their forefathers went through to secure to them the broad plains, fertile valleys, city and mountain homes they now occupy. Especially should the memory of Ann Bailey, the heroic woman who risked her life so often for those she loved, be remembered and her name, fame and heroic deeds should find a resting place upon the bosom of affectionate memory. A grateful people should show their appreciation of her services by contributing of their means to erect an enduring tablet of stone to her memory. She was often called "Mad Ann" when spoken of, but none dared call her so to her face. She was fond of attending shooting matches, could box with the skill of one of the fancy men of her native country, and as pugnacity was one of her striking characteristics, she had frequent opportunities to exhibit her qualifications. Notwithstanding these faults, which in a new country were not looked upon as they are nowadays in more polite society, she was a great favorite with all who knew her, and she and her horse "Liverpool" were welcome guests

wherever they went. She often gathered around her a group of listeners and related the adventures, trials and difficulties she had met with in the course of her checkered career, and often the sympathetic tear would gather in the eyes and course down the cheeks of her attentive audience. After the death of her husband, who was murdered and buried not far from Kanawha Falls, in West Virginia, and the war with the Indians was over, she lived with her son, William Trotter, who married an estimable lady by the name of Mary Ann Cooper, and lived for some years on the Kanawha river, in what is now Marion county, West Virginia. In 1818 he sold his place and moved to Gallia county, Ohio, and purchased land in Harrison township, eight miles from Gallipolis, where he and his wife and mother spent the remainder of their days. He was a successful business man and a large land owner, and for twenty-one years was a justice of the peace in the county. Mrs. Bailey was a person possessed of a power of endurance almost incredible, and her physical and mental powers clung to her until old age wore her out. Although she was over one hundred years of age she taught school and frequently walked to Gallipolis, preferring to do so in place of riding. She was fond of visiting her neighbors, and they all gave her a hearty welcome. When she went from home she always took one of her granddaughters with her. She loved her own sex, and would never see them imposed upon. Mr. Matthew Gilmore, living in Gallia county, upon one occasion had a "corn shucking" at his home and invited the neighbors over to help him, and, as was the custom, he had liquor for his guests. A man by the name of Joseph Hazlett was present, and imbibing too freely he became quarrelsome and attempted to whip his wife, but Ann Bailey, who was present, confronted the ruffian with her scalping knife and frightened the wife-whipper into good behavior. Such is a brief history, gathered from her grandchildren, of one of the most remarkable women that ever lived. On the twenty-third day of November, 1825, Ann Bailey was in unusually good health, but without any premonitions whatever she was found, about ten o'clock that night, dead in her bed, having passed away apparently without a struggle, and at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty-five. So ended the career of the old heroine, whose name, fame and heroic deeds should be perpetuated.

WILLIAM P. BUELL.

CALEB MORGAN.

Caleb Morgan, recently deceased, was one of the oldest residents of Cleveland, to which place he came from Groton, Connecticut, in the year 1811, where are buried eight generations of his ancestors. Purchasing a tract of land from General Perkins, agent for the Connecticut Land company, a log cabin was built in the woods, and the work of clearing away the forest began. Coming to Ohio so short a time before the outbreak of the war of 1812, the Morgan family experienced a share of the hardships incident to that struggle. The only team of horses the father of Caleb Morgan had was pressed into the service of the government in the winter of 1811-12 at Sandusky, and he was obliged to leave his little family and go to that point and work with his team through the winter. After Hull's surrender the Ohio soldiers were sent home, and they came back to their Ohio cabins, following the shore of Lake Erie in such numbers as to lead many to suppose them to be the British. The Morgan family started for Captain Williams' quarters (near the intersection of Union street and Woodland Hills avenue) but went on as far as Euclid avenue, where they remained over night. Caleb and his father remained behind to conceal their household goods and save, if possible, their stock from the supposed enemy. Their fears were soon dispelled and replaced by their sympathy for the sick and suffering soldiers. Those settlers who could afford it took to their homes from one to six of those who needed care and nursing, and kept them until restored to health again. Many of the poor fellows died at the homes of the kind-hearted settlers. Caleb Morgan married, in 1838, Mary Drake, who survives him. Except his brother, Y. L. Morgan, who is now in his eighty-eighth year, he has out-lived all of his old neighbors and friends, who were first to settle on the Newburg road. Mr. Morgan was a charter member of the Disciple church, organized in 1842.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

The French expedition to the Ohio country was undertaken and consummated in the year 1749. It had in view a three-fold object: First, to take possession of the country in the name of Louis XV, King of France, and select the most favorable sites for the erection of a chain of forts that should connect Canada at the north with Louisiana at the south; second, to drive beyond the Alleghany mountains the hateful English trader whose influence with the Indians was proving extremely baneful to French interests, and who was regarded by the French nation as a trespasser upon French soil; and third, to regain the friendship of the Indians and to form with them such alliances as would help to establish an effectual barrier to English ambition and aggression.

The gentleman whom Galissonière, the Governor of Canada, entrusted with this important undertaking was Céloron de Bienville, "a chevalier de St. Louis and a captain in the colony troops." He provided him with a force of two hundred and fifty-five men and twenty-three birch-bark canoes, which were to carry them up the St. Lawrence, across the waters of Lake Ontario and Erie, down Lake Chautauqua, and down the Allegheny to the Ohio. Céloron's officers were fourteen, among whom were DeContrecoeur, DeVilliers and Joncaire. Only twenty of his force were experienced soldiers, fifty-five being Indians and the others raw Canadians. He left La Chine, Canada, June 15, and in just thirty days, July 15, reached the south shore of Lake Erie at a point near where Portland, New York now stands. Seven days of severe toil were passed in carrying the canoes and baggage across the rugged country, a distance of eight or nine miles, to Lake Chautauqua on whose placid waters they

again embarked. Seven days more elapsed before they reached the upper waters of the Allegheny, which they called "La Belle Rivière."

At a spot near where Warren, Pa., now stands, Céloron de Bienville entered upon the work of taking formal possession of the country. His men were formed into line, Louis XV was proclaimed the proprietor of the country, and a sheet of tin with the arms of France stamped upon it, was nailed to a red oak tree, and a leaden plate about eleven by seven and one-half inches, and one-eighth of an inch thick was buried at its foot. Céloron had five other of these plates, all alike and each bearing the following inscription:

Year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France. We, Celoron, commanding the detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commander-general of New France, to restore tranquillity in certain villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanawagon (*Conewango*), this 29th July, as a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the aforesaid river Ohio, of all streams that fall into it, and of all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have held by force of arms, and by treaties, notably those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.

This ceremony was repeated as they passed down the river, first at a point four leagues below French Creek where they came to a large rock whose surface, 14 x 22 feet in extent, contained numerous Indian hieroglyphics. Here the second leaden plate was sunk. At the Delaware village of Attiqué, the present site of Kittanning, they found twenty-two wigwams, all deserted. A little farther down they came upon six English traders whom they ordered to quit that region for good, and at the Iroquois village, presided over by the female chief, Queen Alequippa, who, with her subjects, had

* Parkman.

abandoned their wigwams, they found six more of these obnoxious Englishmen, who likewise were ordered away. Passing the present site of Pittsburgh, they reached, seventeen miles down the Ohio, the present site of Logstown, called by the French Chiningué. This was a favorite resort of the English trader and consisted of some fifty cabins and wigwams, grouped as Mr. Parkman says, "in picturesque squalor, and tenanted by a mixed population chiefly of Delawares, Shawanoes and Mingoes." Here Céloron found ten more English traders to whom the usual warning was given. The Indians he addressed in the name of their governor, as follows:

Through the love I bear you, my children, I send you Monsieur Céloron to open your eyes to the designs of the English against your lands. The establishments they mean to make, and of which you are certainly ignorant, tend to your complete ruin. They hide from you their plans, which are to settle here and drive you away, if I let them. As a good father who tenderly loves his children, and though far away from them, bears them always in his heart, I must warn you of the danger that threatens you. The English intend to rob you of your country; and that they may succeed, they begin by corrupting your minds. As they mean to seize the Ohio, which belongs to me, I send to warn them to retire."

The chiefs replied in a respectful way, but did not wish to part with the English traders as they bought their goods which they greatly prized and of which they stood in urgent need. Of the traders the chaplain of the expedition remarks: "They agreed to all that was demanded, well resolved no doubt, to do the contrary so soon as our backs were turned." At the mouth of the Wheeling creek they buried a third plate, and at the mouth of the Muskingum a fourth. Mr. Parkman says:

Here, half a century later, when this region belonged to the United States, a party of boys, bathing in the river saw the plate protruding from the bank where the freshets laid it bare, knocked it down with a stick, melted half of it into bullets, and gave what remained to a neighbor from Marietta, who, hearing of this mysterious relic described in an unknown tongue, came to rescue it from their hands. It is now in the cabinet of the American Antiquarian society."

The fifth plate was buried at the mouth of the Great Kanawha on the eighteenth of August, and this too a boy found, in 1846. At

the mouth of the Scioto, they were received by the Indians with unfriendly demonstrations, who fired upon them, and caused Céloron to hasten forward toward the Great Miami, where he buried his last leaden plate. Leaving the Ohio they ascended the Miami, against whose shallow current they toiled for thirteen days, when they arrived at the mouth of what is now known as Loramie creek where the Miami Indians had a thriving village ruled over by La Demoiselle, called by the English old Britain, the great chief of the Miami confederacy. Him and his band Céloron endeavored to induce to go to the French fort on the Maumee where they would be out of reach of English influence. He enforced his entreaties with ample gifts, but to no purpose. The Indian chief took the Frenchman's gifts and told him he would consider the advice he had given but would not then act upon it. Céloron was obliged to press forward, leaving Demoiselle to the pursuit of his own plans. This Indian chieftain was a warm friend of the English whose traffic he had found profitable, and the population of his followers rapidly increased until Pickawillany, as the town afterwards came to be known, became one of the largest Indian villages in the west where English traders carried on, for two or three years, a prosperous commerce, assembling oftentimes to the number of fifty or more. In 1752 the French had their revenge upon the Demoiselle. He was surprised by two hundred and fifty Ottawa and Ojibwa warriors led by Charles Langlade, a young French trader who had married a squaw at Green Bay. The Demoiselle's people were away on the summer's hunt and the northern warriors had an easy victory. They wreaked their savage vengeance on the Englishmen's Indian ally and friend by boiling and eating the Demoiselle.

Céloron burned his canoes and crossed the country to the French post on the Maumee, and in the first days of October had descended that stream to Lake Erie, and in due time reached Montreal, where, closing his journal he wrote:

Father Bonsecamp, who is a Jesuit and a great mathematician reckons, that we have traveled twelve thousand leagues; I and my officers think we have traveled more. All I can say is, that the nations of these countries are very ill-disposed towards the French, and devoted entirely to the English.

This expedition, which was to accomplish such great results in ridding the Ohio country of the English intruders and winning the Indian tribes to French interests, was an ignominious failure in these respects, but it served to lay bare to the governor of Canada the existing facts, and showed the French government how much was to be done in order to vindicate its claim to that vast domain watered by the Beautiful River and its northern tributaries.

Prof. Hunt has a noteworthy paper in the *North American Review* for April, on "How to Reform English Spelling." Philological scholars are generally agreed that some reform of English orthography is desirable, and that it must sooner or later be consummated. They are at variance only as to the exact scope and character the reform shall take, and as to how it shall be brought about. All concede there should be but one correct and authorized way of spelling a given word; but, as a fact, we know that our dictionaries often spell the same word differently; that in fact, they are sadly at variance with each other, and sometimes inconsistent with themselves. This state of things is unfortunate and discreditable to English scholarship. The particular method which Prof. Hunt advocates, is that which is known as the Phonetic System, and which has been adopted by both the Philological Society, of England, and the American Philological Association. This system, which may be regarded as a fair compromise between the extremists on either side, those who contend for a very radical, and those who desire an extremely moderate change, is the product of the best thought and highest scholarship of the reform movement in England and America. It rests on the exact relation of sounds to signs. It would spell such words as programme and catalogue, program and catalog; though and through, tho and thru; head

and health, hed and helth; are and have, ar and hav; guard and guest, gard and gest; give and live, giv and liv; wished and fixed, wisht and fixt; above and some, abuv and sum; debt and limb, det and lim—odd looks oddly as od—feign and ghost, fein and gost; philology, filology; receipt, receit; whole, hole; scent, sent, etc. These examples suffice to show that the reform is not that sweeping and violent kind which would spell such words as feign, fan; receipt, reset; whole, hol, etc. It insists upon retaining only that part of the word which is essential to it as it strikes the ear," and yet is so moderate as not to "run absolutely and violently athwart all that has traditionally existed." The first advantage claimed for this reform, is that of economy in time, labor and expense; those who are thus benefitted embracing author, printer, publisher, teacher, learner and reader. The second advantage claimed is, that it renders spelling simple and easy. Now there are few accurate spellers, and even among the educated, the proportion is small. The phonetic system once adopted, all who pronounce alike would spell alike. The objections which have been urged with greatest force against the adoption of the system are, that it obliterates the historical and etymological characters of the language, and that it would not result in uniformity of orthography because uniformity in pronunciation does not, and never will, exist. The historical objection, as Prof. Hunt clearly shows, is of little weight, the phonetic being more historical than the present method, and obliges the learner to return at once to the oldest forms of the language, in the days of Alfred and Layaman, to discover the real sources and historical sequence of the present English speech. In the other objection their is greater weight. Pronunciation is constantly changing, and even professed orthoepists do not pronounce all words alike. To spell then as we pronounce would be for every one to spell as he pronounces. Prof. Hunt admits the force of this objection, and parries it as best he can by maintaining that, if from childhood we were trained to use a consistent phonetic alphabet,

uniformity of pronunciation would be reached. Of still less importance would this objection be if, as has been urged, there should be established in this country a tribunal composed of the ripest American scholars, whose province it should be as relating to philology, to ascertain what is usage among cultured people in the great commercial centres where the English language is best understood and most correctly spoken, as to the pronunciation of all doubtful words, to record such changes as take place among men of letters in pronunciation, and the use of capitals in writing, and to publish from time to time, such information as they may have gathered, and such laws as they may have adopted for their own and the public's guidance. Substantial agreement might thus be reached, not only in the matter of orthoepy and orthography, but also in the right use of capital letters. This last point is one which very urgently needs reform. No two publishing houses in this country, or in England, are in exact accord in the employment of capital letters. More—no house in either country is in exact accord with itself in this matter. Each has a system of rules for its own guidance, which, however, is not sufficiently comprehensive to cover every doubtful case, and the proof-reader is left, in many instances, to his own judgment. Such a tribunal would be of service also in determining usage among the best English scholars respecting the propriety of employing the singular or plural form of the verb when the nominative is a collective noun; to assist in determining what words are and what are not properly compound words, and in these and other ways advance the standard of English scholarship.

Elsewhere in this Magazine may be read an interesting letter from the pen of James Freeman Clarke, defending General Hull's conduct in the surrender of Detroit. What Mr. Clarke has to say deserves the candid and careful consideration of all students who are in search of truth. No fairminded person could wish that General Hull's name and memory should suffer odium from the censure of his countrymen, if it can be

shown there are no just grounds for that censure. The prevailing belief and the verdict of the majority of historians who have made the surrender and the antecedent events a careful study are not, however, in accord with Mr. Clarke's conclusions. But few students of history who have written upon the subject take Mr. Clarke's view. Among those who do is, notably, Benson J. Lossing, who holds General Hull blameless, and the government and General Dearborn responsible for the unfortunate act. History cannot afford to take a partisan view. It can no more afford to shield the government if it were chiefly to blame, than it can afford to undertake to make it responsible for General Hull's carelessness, cowardice and neglect of duty, if he were really guilty of these things. History must be true to fact. However unjust one may deem the findings of the court-martial that tried him and pronounced him guilty of cowardice and unofficer-like conduct, we cannot well see how a judgment that he was guilty of gross carelessness in permitting his muster-rolls and other private papers to be placed on board the schooner Cuyahoga and to thus fall so easily into British hands, can be avoided. This occurrence proved very disastrous to the American cause—an occurrence it seems the exercise of a very small stock of prudence would have prevented. It will hardly be deemed sufficient to maintain that General Hull was not aware that war had been declared, and, therefore, could not have foreseen the capture of the Cuyahoga. He knew very well—no man had all along been in a position to know better—that a declaration of war was likely to be made at any hour; he knew very well that the little army of Ohio troops he was conducting toward Detroit, by order of his government, was going there to defend that post; that therefore war was anticipated; that the war cloud had already assumed an ominous and threatening appearance, and that the little vessel, on board of which he had placed his baggage, his military stores and papers, would be in extreme peril of being captured. We cannot well see how this blunder can be excused or explained away.

However, studying the circumstances and motives that led to the act of surrender itself, in relation to which the court-martial that tried him found him guilty of cowardice and unofficer-like conduct, we think the broadest charity should be exercised. It seems clear the government was largely to blame. It should have provided him with a naval support. If the surrender was a mistake, if he ought to have given battle, if we can readily convince ourselves that had a Grant, a Sherman or a Sheridan been in command, to direct an army of such dauntless spirit, with such eagerness to fight, victory would have been unquestionable, we may, nevertheless, feel assured that personal fear could not well have been the motive that dictated the surrender; for General Hull had fought bravely in the revolutionary struggle and had proved himself incapable of shirking his duty to escape personal danger. It was rather a belief that his little army would be annihilated by the numbers, ferocity and vindictiveness of the Indians.

The editor of this Magazine will be glad to receive and to publish a paper on General Hull's surrender, if some competent student of history will undertake its preparation, resolved to be governed in his investigations and conclusions by truth and fact alone and not by undue sympathy for, nor prejudice against, the man who surrendered Detroit to the enemy without firing a gun and without consultation with any of his officers, not one of whom, it is fair to say, would have yielded consent had he been consulted.

To this man history must, nevertheless, be strictly impartial and just.

The present number closes volume I of this Magazine. The favor with which its first appearance was greeted has increased with each number, and it can now claim to be rapidly winning its way to a very satisfactory degree of public confidence and esteem. At the outset a fear was felt by its editor that the literary support it would likely receive might prove so inadequate as to render its maintenance a problem difficult of solution. The problem now is, how to sift and select the matter proffered for publication, so as to render its table of contents most acceptable and useful to its rapidly increasing number of readers. In bulk it has grown from a monthly of 75 pages to a monthly of 108 pages, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. It numbers among its contributors several writers of reputation, and all who have written for its pages have been well qualified for their undertaking by scholarship and by a careful study of the subjects they have treated. The Magazine of Western History has no promises to make for the future, except to aim high and to labor hard for the satisfactory attainment of that aim. We wish to make the Magazine of special value to teachers and students, and to this end shall spare no efforts; but we hope to make it of interest to other cultured people who are its patrons—the lawyer, the doctor, the minister, the banker and the man of business.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SURRENDER OF DETROIT.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

SIR:

I have the fifth number of your Magazine, and have read it with the interest natural to one who fifty years ago was a resident in the west, and took part in forming the Kentucky Historical society. I knew many who were either among the early settlers of the west, or were acquainted with them. I saw Captain John Cleves Symmes, the founder of Cincinnati, and heard him lecture on the cavity at the north pole. I heard anecdotes of Daniel Boone, George Rogers Clark, and Joseph Hamilton Daviess from those who were familiar with them. Mann Butler, one of the historians of Kentucky, was a personal friend of mine, so that I feel strong sympathy with your Magazine and its objects.

The article on General Harrison attracted me, as I sometimes met him in Cincinnati before he was designated as a presidential candidate. But I was sorry to find that in this article, so able and excellent in many ways, the writer should speak of Detroit as having been "disgracefully surrendered," in apparent ignorance of the reasons for that surrender, which have satisfied most recent historians that it was inevitable. A magazine of western history should not perpetuate prejudices, which, however natural at first, have been shown to be groundless.

The important facts in regard to the surrender of Detroit by General Hull are these:

1. Detroit fell because it was cut off from its base of supplies. The British had command of the lake, and their Indian allies filled the woods, and made the shore route to Ohio impracticable. Two attempts, made in force, to reopen this line of communications, had failed. The territory of Michigan did not furnish food, even for its own people. Detroit therefore, fell, just as Richmond fell, when Grant's army, on April 2, 1865, succeeded in cutting the south side railway. Then Lee telegraphed to Davis, "My lines are broken in three places; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." Detroit fell, as Charleston fell when Sherman's army cut the railroads by which it was supplied. As soon as this was done, Hardee, with fourteen thousand troops,

evacuated the city. An army cut off from its communications must surrender. So Napoleon III at the head of ninety thousand troops, surrendered Sedan, without a battle.

2. That Detroit was cut off from its supplies, was not the fault of General Hull, but of the administration. General Hull, in previous years, repeatedly warned the government at Washington, that in case of war with England, whichever nation held the lake would necessarily hold Detroit. He had again and again urged on the American government to build vessels of war on Lake Erie. No attention had been paid to his entreaties.

3. This prediction of General Hull was verified, not only by his own disaster, but also by the fact that the British continued to hold Detroit until Perry had built his fleet, and fought the battle of Lake Erie, when it was immediately evacuated, together with Malden, by the British commander, who did not wait for the arrival of General Harrison and his army. General Harrison, an experienced western commander, who understood the difficulties General Hull would have to encounter, had predicted the fall of Detroit. He himself, in command of a large force, had hoped to retake the post before winter, but found it impossible to do so until the end of September, a year later. Perry's victory, alone, gave Detroit back to the Americans.

4. The difficulties under which General Hull labored were increased by the neglect of the government to give him timely notice of the declaration of war, or to carry out the plan which had been agreed upon, of invading Canada simultaneously at Niagara and Detroit. Instead of this General Dearborn made an armistice with the British commander-in-chief, in which Hull was not included, thus enabling the British to concentrate all their troops on Detroit.

5. General Dearborn, who was thus the real cause of the fall of Detroit, and who ought himself to have been court-martialed, was made the president of the court-martial to try General Hull. The court-martial was a farce. It was already decided that Hull should be made the scapegoat for the faults of the administration. He was therefore found guilty of cowardice and unofficer-like conduct,

and sentenced to be shot, but told to go home and wait there till the government was ready to inflict the sentence.

6. Gen. Hull had fought through the whole revolution, and had taken part in many of its principal battles. He was no coward. He had been in scenes of extreme peril, and had been praised by Washington and by congress for his gallant conduct. He was with Washington at Princeton, and with Wayne at Stony Point. But the court-martial found him guilty of cowardice by the testimony of officers who had never been in a battle, and who gave their opinion that his appearance indicated fear. These opinions of militia officers were taken as evidence. Meantime, the country had been flooded with copies of a letter, written by Colonel Cass, in which (contradicting his own previous written statements) he attributed the fall of Detroit as wholly due to the incapacity of the general in command. For this timely service, the government rewarded him by promotion from the rank of colonel of militia to that of a brigadier-general in the regular army. As this was the only service he had done, it could have been for nothing else.

7. Modern historians, who have investigated these transactions, have generally come to the conclusion that General Hull cannot be justly blamed for the surrender of Detroit, and that he was really made the scapegoat of an imbecile administration. For example, Benson J. Lossing, one of the latest and best informed, thus speaks: "When he (Hull) could perceive no alternative but surrender or destruction—destruction to his army, and the old men, women and children who had taken refuge in Detroit from the fury of the savages—he bravely determined to choose the most courageous and humane course; so he faced the taunts of his soldiers and the expected scorn of his countrymen, rather than fill the beautiful land of Ohio and the young settlements of Michigan with mourning."

"The conception of the campaign against Canada was a huge blunder. Hull saw it and protested against it. The failure to put in motion for his support auxiliary and co-operative forces was criminal neglect. When the result was found to be a failure and humiliation, the administration perceived it and sought a refuge. Public indignation must be appeased; the lightning of the public wrath must be averted. I repeat it, General Hull was made the chosen victim for the peace-offering—the sin-bearing scapegoat—and on his head the fiery thunderbolts were hurled."

Thus speaks Lossing, who has made a special study of the war of 1812, as well as of the whole of American history. I am satisfied that, sooner or later, all honest and fair-minded students will come to the same conclusion.

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

Boston, Massachusetts.

1135 DUNNING STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.,
February 22, 1885.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

I take especial delight in investigations of evidences that may throw light on early man. With much pleasure I have read the article on "Man and the Glacial Period." While perusing the same I found myself possessed of the same doubts that clouded my belief in the competence of the evidences to carry conviction when reading Lyell and others on the same subject. I have endeavored to weigh most carefully the evidences found in our own country as well as in others, but I am slow in accepting anything as proven. When seeking for facts to support our theories we are often over-zealous, and are apt to overweigh evidences. Let us, then, not deceive ourselves.

It has not been my pleasure to visit the valley of the Trenton, but I have visited others like it. My home for nearly my whole life has been in northern Illinois, where, in my opinion, are found the best of illustrations, not only of glacial action but of subsequent modification. The matchless prairies, ever fertile, long have been the homes of man. His history, often said to be unwritten because unread, is here most unmistakably legible. His mounds, his utensils and his weapons are profuse. You speak of "the importance of local history." Let me give you some, in part translated from the relics my ploughshare turned to light, in part the disclosures brought by river floods, earlier still, the drifts of sand and gravel and the rocks underlying all. As others may wish to see for themselves, let me be particular as to localities and facts.

At Plano, in Kendall county, Illinois, my investigations have most been made. Of this immediate locality I will speak. A mile and a half south of the busy little city, the waters of Fox river rush noisily over ledges of Galena limestone, dipping gently to the north. Two confluents reach it here—the Big Rock and the Little Rock creeks. These streams have cut deep valleys in the modified deposits of the drift, oftentimes to bed rock. The caving banks and bluffs show sands and

gravels in undulating layers, fine, coarse and clays. The valley course is south, but wherever the rock is exposed are deep-cut grooves, always trending southwest. I recall finding an immense granite boulder lying at the end of a deep-cut furrow near the mouth of the last named stream, where, in the construction of a dam, the soil had been removed and the polished furrowed rock had been swept clean by flood. A mile up this stream a gentle "hog back" shoulders its way across the channel. Here the glacial furrows are deep, and may be studied with accuracy. Two miles north of the city, at the quarries of Shonts and Zellar, on the larger creeks referred to, wherever stripped of superincumbent gravels, are to be traced for many rods the furrows and the scratches. Here the fine grained, nodularly silicious Niagara limestone forms the bed, and here the drift in its primitive, unassorted form may be studied. In the region round about, metamorphic masses of rock are abundant, and masses of native copper have been taken from the drift at its base. During the summer of 1878 I was informed by Mr. Alfred Zellar that in "stripping" his quarry he had found fragments of copper, the masses he gathered in one day aggregating thirty pounds. I immediately visited the locality and found that he had worked well into the bluff, and there, overlaid by drift unquestionably modified, was to be seen a mass of debris. It seemed as if an iceberg had grounded there and dropped the mixture of rock and mineral to which its icy fingers clung, which, by some protection undiscovered, had not been sifted and sorted. Here I found copper in masses from the size of a pin's head to that of a large potato, iron ores, principally hematite, pyrites of iron, fragments of metamorphic rocks that are found only to the northward. The amount of copper was particularly striking, and having before known of two masses found in the creek gravels, it became clear to me that the earlier races of the locality were not dependent upon the mines of Lake Superior for the material from which to make the daggers and knives of which we often read but seldom find. At this one point only have I ever found the drift of the region to be unmodified. At the river and within two miles of the mouths of the two creeks, high bluffs of sifted sand and gravel drop from the level prairies. Into this deposit the streams have sunk their channels, sometimes terrace-bordered. The valleys vary from a half mile to less than an eighth in width, always level, and across these valleys and along them, especially Big Rock creek has wandered, now beneath this bluff but to leave its channel and

take a new one at, perhaps, the next "high water." The old channel of times is filled with gravel scooped from the new. I have watched this stream ever since, when a boy with "turned up pantaloons," I paddled in it the summer long. On my memory are mapped its many channels. Often have I waded down a new cut channel but to find that the stream had returned to an old haunt. I have found logs that it has once covered with gravel, laid bare anew. The depths of the channels have been from two to five feet, often precipitous. Upon the prairies, upon the bluffs, upon the banks of the creek and river I have found arrowheads and implements. Before the construction of the mill-race the two creeks joined before reaching the river. With its feet resting between these streams is an immense isolated hill, sixty feet in height, one-third of a mile in length, by about one-fourth as wide, cut originally from the neighboring bluff by the ancient channel of the Little Rock; an immense hog-back of sifted drift-gravels and sand. Until recently large oaks covered it. Resting in the shade of one, the river, its bordering forests, the wandering creeks, bordered in green and grass of willows, a scene of unsurpassable beauty, with the story told by my father, who came in '38, of this hill as having been the council ground of Black Hawk and Shabbona, and of the poles of the wigwams then standing, also as told in 'Hicks' History of Kandall County,' page 71, I thought of the natural strength of the position for defense, if chosen. So strong was the thought that I was prompted to make a survey of the gently rounded summit with my eyes, and as I scanned it there became visible a wide, shallow ditch, a half-circle, its curve terminating at the brow of the hill, itself and the southern extremity of the hill forming a complete circle. This ditch, about ten feet wide, and now but three to twelve inches in depth, so indistinct as to escape casual observation, is not of natural origin. Its course does not agree with the watershed of the hill-top. Its form is regular. One gateway interrupts it. It ends where the hill is to be climbed but with difficulty. The base of this steep side, washed originally by the stream, was reached by a way cut down to it from the terminating point of the curved ditch above. Here water could be obtained. All this, I saw, was the work of human hands. Black Hawk had not done it. It was too much obliterated for so short an existence; besides, he did not need it; such was not Indian warfare. Had the whites here fortified themselves? No; for nowhere were the Indians opposed in this vicinity.

It may be that LaSalle, or his lieutenant, Tonty, followed the Fox river from its mouth, not far from Starved Rock, where Fort St. Louis stood, (but thirty miles from this), and here fortified himself. If so, history is silent. May it not have been the mound builders. Large mounds are known two miles up the stream and six miles below. The river's water is always quite warm in summer; the waters of the larger, spring-fed creek are cooler. It seemed to me that the mouth of the cool creek would be a natural camping ground. I had never found pottery, but thought if to be found at all, it must be *there*. The field had recently been ploughed. There was pottery. There I found a mound so low as to be doubtful, but its contents, the skeleton of a man, a woman, and a child, evidently buried in a sitting posture, indicated its genuineness. Since that discovery the field has been well worked. Fine specimens of pottery, of flint and granitic implements have been found. The annual high waters

often cut away the surface soil for a foot or more, and burned stones are laid bare, and arrow points are abundant. I do not recall that I have ever found these objects more than a foot below the surface, but what if I should? The fact would signify nothing. It would not tell whether the gravels had been turned over once or twenty times since the relics had been dropped. That camps or villages have been there at a recent date is certain. The undecayed split bones indicate it. The river bottom has been disturbed by flood within my memory. The relics that are on the surface to-day may be swept into an old channel to-morrow. Has not the Trenton cut new and filled up old channels as the streams of which I have written have played with the gravels forming their vallies? Let us not jump at conclusions. Let us not accept a thing as a fact when there is reasonable doubt.

Very respectfully,

J. F. STEWARD.

HISTORICAL AND PIONEER SOCIETIES.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

On the evening of February 12, 1885, a preliminary meeting, called by A. A. Graham of Columbus, was held at the office of the secretary of state for the purpose of taking steps looking to the revival of the State Archaeological association, which had been inoperative since the death of its secretary, the late Professor John T. Short of Ohio State University. There were present General James S. Robinson, Honorable Chauncey N. Olds, Professors Townshend and Derby of Ohio State University, and Messrs. J. J. Janney, C. J. Wetmore and A. A. Graham. Letters of encouragement were received from General R. Brinkerhoff of Mansfield, H. B. Curtis of Mt. Vernon, Anson Nelson of Nashville, Tennessee, R. A. Brock of the Virginia Historical society, Richmond, and a number of others.

General Robinson was elected president of the meeting, and Mr. Graham secretary.

The object of the meeting was stated to be not only the revival and reorganization of the former society, but the addition of an historical feature, which would largely increase the value of the society and the scope of its labors. It was thought

that a room could be secured in the state house for the permanent use of the society, and the exhibition of the specimens, relics and historical papers it might secure. It was urged that as so much valuable material was being taken from Ohio by the associations of other states, no time should be lost in forming a permanent society for archaeological and historical collections, and for the encouragement of researches in the counties and townships of the state.

In support of this proposition General Robinson, Professor Townshend and Secretary Graham were appointed a committee of three to draft and issue a call for a state convention, to be held in Columbus the latter part of the next month.

Numerous instances were cited of valuable relics which had gone from Ohio to swell the museums at Washington and other points, and it was stated that Cambridge, Massachusetts, had a representative in this state who was paying particular attention to matters which should belong to this society and its members.

One of the objects will be to prepare for the celebration as a historical society of the centennial anniversaries of the "ordinance of 1787," and the first settlement of Ohio in the landing at Marietta of the passengers of the Mayflower, April 7, 1788.

The committee prepared a call, setting forth the operations of the old society, the desirability of a new, its objects, and the necessity for its existence. The circular, among other things, stated that, in the old society, "It was found by experience that the subject of archaeology did not interest a sufficient number of people, and it purposed, in the reorganization, to extend its influence and scope, and add thereto a historical feature."

Referring to the proposed centennial of the ordinance of 1787, and of the settlement of Ohio in 1788, the circular stated: "In 1787 was passed the famous ordinance guaranteeing freedom forever to great northwest. Ohio was the first state organized under this 'constitution of liberty.' Younger states in the 'territory northwest of the Ohio' are moving in the matter of a centennial celebration of that important event. One year after this ordinance was passed, a band of pioneers came down the Ohio, in the 'Mayflower,' anchored their vessel near the mouth of the Muskingum river, and here, April 7, 1788, was made the first permanent settlement of our state. The centennial of this event will soon occur. Shall not a proper celebration perpetuate its memory?"

The objects of the association were briefly outlined as follows by the circular:

1. To bring together all those interested in these questions.
2. To revive and reorganize a permanent society, whose purpose shall be to hold stated meetings, for the advancement of these and kindred subjects by all laudable efforts on its part.
3. To collect and arrange relics, and to publish material relating to the archaeological and civil history of Ohio.
4. To maintain a depository of archaeological and historical relics; to preserve manuscripts, pamphlets, papers, books, paintings and all other historical material; and to do such other acts as may tend to enhance the study of history.

A blank was attached to the circular, asking for the names and addresses of the officers of pioneer and other historical societies in Ohio; also for the names and addresses of persons interested in such subjects; and for those who had gathered archaeological and historical cabinets. A pledge of co-operation was also requested.

About one thousand of these circulars were sent to all parts of Ohio. A most gratifying response was the result, and numerous guarantees of attendance at the meeting on March 12, and of co-operation were received. A movement was inaugurated to enlist the newspapers, and over five hundred slips embodying the foregoing circular were sent to them requesting their publication. Their prompt action in

the matter was highly gratifying. The same circular containing the following clause was sent to about five hundred principals of schools, and to all the colleges in Ohio:

"We trust to see a movement inaugurated among the teachers, and through them the pupils of the public schools of Ohio, to study the history of our state. We know you will feel a personal interest in this matter, and aid our society in all laudable efforts to further its aims. We will be glad to have you attend this meeting should your duties permit, and we hope you will become active members of the association."

The recognition of the study of Ohio history was apparent, and the movement was ably seconded by them.

By the time of the meeting more than two hundred applications for membership had been received by Mr. Graham, and on the forenoon of March 12, a number of influential gentlemen gathered in the state library to perfect plans of an organization. There were present: Allen G. Thurman, John W. Andrews, Charles Wetmore, John J. Janney, Professor N. S. Townshend, Professor S. C. Derby, S. S. Rickly, Hylas Sabine, Alexis Cope, Reverend William E. Moore, H. T. Chittenden, D. H. Gard, A. A. Graham and T. Ewing Miller of Columbus; Professor Israel W. Andrews, Beman Gates and W. P. Cutler of Marietta; General R. Brinkerhoff of Mansfield; Reverend H. A. Thompson of Westerville; E. M. P. Brister of Newark; Douglas Putnam of Harmar; A. W. Jones of Youngstown; Charles W. Bryant of Granville; James S. Robinson of Kenton; John B. Pearlee of Cincinnati, and W. A. Schulz of Lancaster.

Over one hundred letters had been received, cordially endorsing the movement, and regretting inability to be present. A temporary organization was effected, with Mr. Thurman as chairman, and after hearing reports of committees appointed at preliminary meeting, articles of incorporation were read by Mr. Cope, which, after discussion, were amended and adopted. The afternoon session was devoted to the discussion and adoption of by-laws, and to the election of fifteen trustees. The evening meeting was held in the senate chamber, and was exceedingly interesting. Addresses were made by General Brinkerhoff, Doctor Andrews, Mr. Cutler, Professor Pearlee, Mr. Curtis and Reverend Moore. The trustees met at ten a. m., Friday morning, elected officers, and transacted other necessary business, and adjourned to meet at the call of the president. Immediately on its adjournment, the society held a short meeting, appointed district vice-presi-

dents of the society in the first, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth judicial districts, and instructed the executive committee to fill the office with one suitable person in each of the remaining districts. A number of names were presented for membership, a committee to secure a room appointed, and after a general expression of opinion concerning a second meeting, the society adjourned to meet at the call of the trustees.

The by-laws provide for five classes of members: Active members, who must be residents of Ohio, and pay \$5 annually, for which they receive free all the publications of the society; associate members, residents of Ohio, paying annually \$3, and receiving annual reports only; life members, who pay \$50 at one time, and have all the privileges of active membership; correspondent members, in different localities, who receive the free annual reports; and honorary members, who shall be persons elected on account of scientific attainments.

The usual assignment of officers is provided for, and their duties described. Fifteen trustees are to have direction of the affairs of the association, of whom five shall be elected at the annual meeting each year. The trustees are directed to provide for such regular meetings other than the annual one as are deemed advisable, and appoint the necessary committees for the prosperity of the societies.

The trustees for three years are Honorable Allen G. Thurman, Douglas Putnam, Honorable John W. Andrews, Henry B. Curtis, General R. Brinkerhoff.

Trustees for two years—Honorable W. P. Cutler, Honorable T. Ewing Miller, Reverend Doctor W. E. Moore, Professor N. S. Townshend, Henry T. Crittenden.

Trustees for one year—A. W. Jones, Honorable Hylas Sabine, Reverend H. A. Thompson, President I. W. Andrews, Honorable James S. Robinson.

The board of trustees elected the following officers:

President—A. G. Thurman of Columbus; vice presidents—Henry B. Curtis of Mt. Vernon; and General R. Brinkerhoff of Mansfield; secretary and librarian—A. A. Graham of Columbus; treasurer—H. T. Crittenden, of Columbus.

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Vice Presidents for Judicial Districts—First, John B. Peaseley; third, T. J. Godfrey; fourth, R. B. Hayes; fifth, S. S. Rickley; sixth, C. W. Bryant;

seventh, W. A. Schultz; eighth, W. M. Farrar; ninth, Henry Todd; tenth, E. B. Finley. These vice presidents are the leading officers of the society, and represent its interests in their several districts. The remaining districts will be filled as soon as suitable men are found willing to accept the duties of this important office.

Finance Committee—J. S. Robinson, W. E. Moore and H. T. Crittenden.

Committee on By-laws for Trustees—J. S. Robinson, A. W. Jones and W. E. Moore.

The board then adjourned.

The following additional members were elected: Martin D. Follett, Marietta; R. W. McFarland, Columbus; John W. Lewis, Mt. Vernon; Charles H. Scribner, Toledo; Daniel Babst, Jr., Crestline; Judge Silas H. Wright, Lancaster; A. Freed, Pleasantville; General George W. Morgan and Columbus Delano, Mt. Vernon; Henry Tod, Youngstown; R. W. Stevenson, Columbus; Harvey Chapman, Kenton; John A. Welch, A. B. Walker and A. G. Brown, Athens; A. P. Howard, Woodstock; V. B. Horton and S. Dana Horton, Pomeroy; Allen Levering, Mt. Gilead; A. R. Van Cleaf, Circleville, giving the society a membership of forty-eight in less than twenty-four hours after the permanent organization was attempted.

Superintendent John B. Peaseley, of the Cincinnati public schools, stated that, in his opinion, it would be well to engage, as a society, in an effort to arouse in the children of the public schools a proper interest in the proposed celebration in 1888. He had pursued a course of pamphlet distribution in engaging the schools in the tree planting and birthday celebrations, which had originated with him, and he had found it very successful. He urged the association to take some step in the matter as soon as possible, so a large public sentiment could be aroused and the children of the state fully prepared to celebrate intelligently the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Ohio.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That John B. Peaseley be requested to prepare a pamphlet on the pioneer history of Ohio for the celebration of the centennial of the first settlement of the state by the public schools.

A resolution was adopted requesting the speakers of Thursday evening to prepare their addresses in writing and send them to the secretary for the use of the association.

The executive committee was requested to take into consideration the policy of the society in regard

to the celebration of 1888 and report what it ought to do.

Honorable John W. Andrews of Marietta, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That this society cordially approves of the erection at Marietta of a suitable monumental structure to commemorate the services of the patriotic men, who obtained a valid title to the northwestern territory, and established therein the principles of civil and religious liberty expressed in the ordinance of July 13, 1787; and the society will gladly participate in the proposed celebration, to be held in the city of Marietta on the seventh of April, 1888, to commemorate the application of the principles of the ordinance in the first permanent occupation of the soil of Ohio by systematic colonization.

A committee was appointed to secure a room in the state house for the use of the society.

The executive committee was authorized to make an appropriation for the compensation of the secretary, who was requested to devote his entire time to the work, and the society adjourned, subject to the call of the trustees.

The Ohio society starts under most favorable auspices. The men at its head are among the best in the state. The nearness of the centennial of its settlement is creating a wide interest among all its citizens. Other northwestern states will be invited to participate.

The state of Ohio, which has been so slow to act on these matters, now comes forward in the vanguard, and will soon have a cabinet and a library worthy her people and her history.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A meeting of the executive committee of the Virginia Historical society was held last evening at the rooms of the society in the Westmoreland clubhouse. Present: Messrs. Henry, chairman; Curry, Palmer, Capell, Cottrell, Brock and Barksdale, recording secretary.

A number of gift books were reported; also, from W. W. Corcoran, Esq., vice president of the society, a highly interesting album of autographs, containing those of the presidents of the United States from Washington to Buchanan inclusive, with those of their cabinet officers, besides those of many other persons distinguished in the annals of America and Europe—among them Oliver Cromwell, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Moore, the poet, the Duke of

Wellington, Lords Clarendon, Cholmondeley, Egremont, Sussex, Exmouth, Aberdeen, Sir John Herschel, Chantrey, the sculptor, Lafayette, Santa Anna and David Crocket. The album contains also a number of portraits.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the society: Corresponding—William Poillon, Esq., 61 Bethune street, New York city; Honorable William A. Courtenay, Charleston, South Carolina. Annual—Messrs. Charles H. Raymond and John Cropper, New York city; Philip D. Moen, Esq., Worcester, Massachusetts; Colonel Thomas Richeson, St. Louis, Missouri; Messrs. S. Dabney, Crenshaw and Joseph E. Dickerson, Richmond, Virginia.

The corresponding secretary reported that the MS. of the second volume of the Spotswood Letters, to complete that work, had been committed to the printer, who had made some progress in printing it.

A CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED.

—The Ohio Valley Catholic Historical society has recently been organized at Pittsburgh, Pa. The society has engaged permanent rooms at No. 67 Fourth avenue. Reverend A. A. Lambing is president; Charles F. McKenna, Esq., first vice-president; Doctor G. H. Keyser, second vice-president; John Molampy, third vice-president; J. B. McCalley, recording secretary; Professor C. O. Burg, corresponding secretary; Titus Berger, treasurer. About one hundred members are enrolled, and the society promises to compete with its older eastern and western rivals. The society has for its object the investigation, collection and preservation of the early history, traditions, reminiscences and relics of Catholicity in the United States, and especially in Western Pennsylvania and the valley of the Ohio, and the discussion in writing of matters relating to those subjects.

The society will meet every first and third Thursday of the month. Active membership has been fixed at \$2 per annum and life membership at \$25. Reverend F. G. Lentz of Indiana, has been invited and will deliver a lecture before the society at their next meeting, on the nineteenth of April. Subject: "The Constitutional Liberty of the Middle Ages and the effects of the Guilds Thereon." Applications for membership were received from Harrisburg, Altoona, Wilkesbarre, Philadelphia and other cities.

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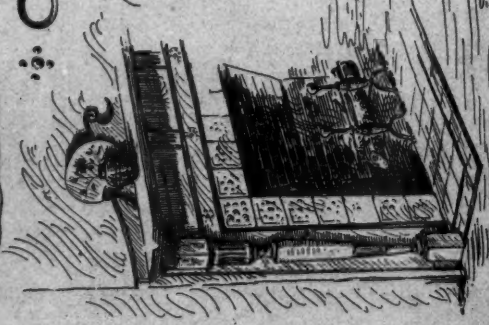
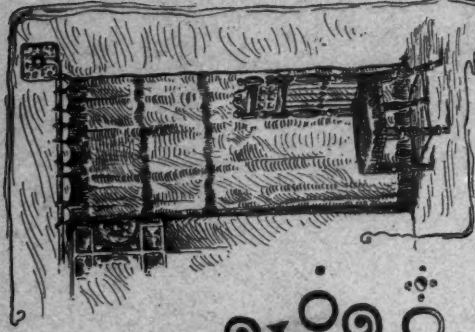
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V.—Cumberland Sound and its Eskimos. By Dr. Franz Boas.	
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